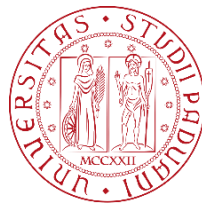# UNIVERSITÀ DEGLI STUDI DI PADOVA

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE,
LAW, AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

Master's degree in

Human Rights and Multi-level Governance

A DEMOGRAPHIC ANALYSIS OF PORTUGAL, ITS MIGRATION DYNAMICS, AND A BRIEF ANALYSIS OF THE BRAZILIAN IMPACT ON IMMIGRATION

Supervisor: Prof. IRENE BARBIERA

Candidate: MARIA FERNANDA BERTANHA GIUSTI

Matriculation No.: 2039441

A.Y. 2021/2023

UNIVERSITÀ DEGLI STUDI DI PADOVA

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE,
LAW, AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

Master's degree in

Human Rights and Multi-level Governance

A DEMOGRAPHIC ANALYSIS OF PORTUGAL, ITS MIGRATION DYNAMICS, AND A BRIEF ANALYSIS OF THE BRAZILIAN IMPACT ON IMMIGRATION

Supervisor: Prof. IRENE BARBIERA

Candidate: MARIA FERNANDA BERTANHA GIUSTI

Matriculation No.: <u>2039441</u>

A.Y. 2021/2023

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACRONYMS

INE - National Statistics Institute of Portugal

EU - European Union

CPLP - *Comunidade dos Países de Língua Portuguesa* (in English: Community of Portuguese Language Countries)

OECD - Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development

UK - United Kingdom

SEF - *Serviço de Estrangeiros e Fronteiras* (in English: Service for Foreigners and Borders)

FIGURES

Chapter 3:

ABSTRACT: The objective of this project is to analyze the impact of migration in Portugal. Gathering data from official sources, statistics institutes and information provided by the countries involved, the thesis explores the question "How the migration dynamics of Portugal influence the demographic profile of the country?". Firstly, it presents an overview of Portugal's demographic profile. Secondly, it explores migration dynamics in the country, including both influx and outflux. Finally, it presents the Brazilian impact on the migrant population in the country. As a conclusion, it is possible to affirm that migration has an impact on Portugal's population profile.

KEY WORDS: Migration; Portuguese Migration; Brazilian Emigration

Introduction

The International Organization for Migration estimates that in 2020 there were 281 million international migrants around the world (3,6% of the total population) and that a third of them were in Europe (IOM, 2022).

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UN, 1948) established that all people were born free and are equal in dignity and rights, in what is called the universality of human rights. The declaration also establishes the right that all people have to freedom of movement, to leave and return to their country, as well as the right to life, liberty, and security without distinction of any kind. Based on that, a great part of international migrants move to another country to find those rights.

The motivation behind the decision to migrate is really difficult to track, considering its subjectivity. Having in mind the bureaucratic procedures involved in this process, the migrants need to match their motivation to the available options of visas in the receiving country. However, for lacking the documents or for the impossibility of filling all the official requirements for the visa, many times people decide to do it behind the legal or regular channels.

All the decisions regarding migration might also vary depending on the personal characteristics of that person or family, and elements such as their gender, lifestyle, economic background, the political situation that may affect their reality, marital status, and children, have an impact on that decision.

Important to mention that this thesis will focus on migration during peaceful times, so it will not be restricted to numbers, data, or information regarding war times and the fluxes generated by it, nor information about refugees and asylum seekers. Since the focus will be on the numbers provided by official statistics institutes, important to mention that we will be dealing with migration done through legal and regular procedures.

By analyzing data provided by the official institutes, it is possible to track and discuss the reasons why people migrate in the sense of analyzing the justification for their visas, and verifying the variation among countries and during a certain period of time. The same happens with the acquisition of Portuguese nationality, in which is possible to track the previous nationality of the applicant and the most common reason that justifies their application.

The chronological frame chosen by this author for this thesis is the period from 2011 to 2021. Historical, economic, and political features have great interference with a country and its population, and so some of the data is brought back to 2011, the year the

country started to feel heavy economic problems, impacting demographic changes and, especially, migration. The reader will notice that, frequently, is presented information about the year 2021 as the most recent period. This was an attempt to standardize the data, considering almost all the information this author wanted to show, was updated until that year. When they were available, some information was brought for earlier years or 2022, with the aim of comparison. In some cases, the most recent indicator did not cover 2021, so it was presented the latest year available, that is why in some cases the information presented is about 2019.

Portugal faced severe effects of the 2008 economic crisis that was mostly felt in the country between 2010-2014. The migration fluxes also felt the movements with an increase in the emigration flow and a decrease in the immigration. Considering the existence of diverse migrant profiles, each one of them is subject to the crisis in different manners and responds to it in a different manner as well. In this sense, even during the economic crisis, there were still people immigrating to Portugal.

The colonial background of the country, and its history in the Great Navigation, might be the reason why Portugal is one of the European Countries with the largest proportion of migrant stock compared to its own population[1]. After the authoritarian and dictatorial period in the country and the independence of its colonies, Portugal started to be a destination, but also a transitory country for nationals of the CLPL community who wanted to migrate to Europe. In many cases, their final destination was Europe, but the first country to stop was Portugal. In this sense, the country was an important area for migratory fluxes and, many times was used as an example for understanding more general fluxes (Marques e Gois, 2014).

The country is noted for having both migratory flows, considering that at the same time, it is a country of emigrants and immigrants. In the past, there was a strong flux to the ex-colonies in Africa and Brazil. In addition, the ease with which Portuguese move around to other European Union countries led a great number of people to take this route. That is the reason why, the emigration is mostly for European countries (the UK, Switzerland, Germany, Spain, France, and Luxembourg) with an overseas participation of Angola and Brazil, as it will be presented.

---

[1] United Nations - Population Division. International Migrant Stock 2020: Destination. Available at: https://www.un.org/development/desa/pd/content/international-migrant-stock. Last visited: 14 AUG 2023; Eurostat. Population on 1 January by age and sex. Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/DEMO_PJAN/default/table?lang=en&category=demo.demo_pop. Last visited: 15 AUG 2023

Rowland (2003) teaches that some elements should be considered when studying population changes. One of those is the reliability of the sources, questioning if the statistics provided - or the measure they came from - are reliable and of high quality. In the present work, since we are dealing with official institutes, we do not have to worry about the reliability of the sources, especially because we used the two main providers within the Portuguese and European context: the Portuguese National Statistics Institute and the Eurostat. Some of the data was brought from the national statistics office of the country discussed at the time, as was the case of Luxembourg, Switzerland, and Germany.

Together with the Portuguese National Institute (INE) and Eurostat, the Service for Foreigners and Borders (SEF) and the Observatory of Emigration were also consulted regarding migration. Important to note that even within the official Portuguese bodies that provide information (INE and SEF) there is a discrepancy in the data that is published or the definition of each of the bodies given to a specific indicator. The data provided, therefore, do not always match, but only because they sometimes consider different indicators, which again demonstrates the importance of reading the data with much attention.

The research is limited to the data published by the official channels, which might not be precise. Moreover, in both dealing with immigration and emigration, there is also a limitation to the demographic indicators established by the National Statistical Institutes of the countries in question, which may lead to inaccurate or incomplete results. The best way to overcome this possible problem is to analyze the data very carefully and understand the elements of its composition. Besides, having official national institutes that publish data about their population is a trustful source to gather information to understand the population and the variation of fluxes and indicators during a period of time.

Some information on emigration was based on the data provided by the Observatory of Emigration (a Portuguese provider), considering the poverty of data in the national channels of the destination countries. That was the case of Angola, for example, in which the National Institute for Statistics did not have updated information about the topic in question.

Data about immigration might face the same challenges if we consider European Union nationals who are moving under the radar or nationals from extra-EU countries who migrate holding Portuguese (or European) citizenship. Since the movement of people and the freedom to move and work in other countries are incentivized by the

Community, it is common for European Union citizens to move within the Schengen area without legally registering themselves in the new country.

If we are talking specifically about Brazilians, the colonial background and the history of great migrations during starvation and war times in Europe justified the emigration of Europeans to America, mainly Portuguese, Italians, and Germans. Those fluxes are the reason for the existence of a familial bond that creates the possibility for Brazilians to apply for European citizenship. The consequence that we see now is the intensification of "returning immigration", in which many migrants who hold a European passport return to the places where their grandparents (or great-grandparents) left a few decades back, disappearing from the statistics of the countries. For Padilla (2007) both the colonial and familiar bond, a part of this movement of returning migration might explain why there are so many Brazilians in Portugal.

Besides, many authors mention the presence of an uncovered amount of immigrants due to their irregular situation in the country. Their numbers are impossible to estimate, making the official data about migration much lower than reality (Rodrigues, 2010; Padilla, 2007; Fernandes et al., 2021).

Either way, even with the misidentification in the numbers of people migrating and their origin or destination, basing the research on those official providers makes all the work more reliable, which leads to more accurate and trustful results.

The goal of this paper is not to cover all the motivations why people decide to leave their country but rather to understand the demographic characteristics of Portugal and how emigration and immigrants might affect those characteristics. This thesis intends to present the relation of demographic dynamics and migration in the specific case of Portugal and to do that, the proposed research question is "How do the migration dynamics of Portugal influence the demographic profile of the country?".

To answer the question, it will be analyzed the demographic profile of Portugal, in an attempt to understand the population structure and profile and show its trends, such as age, gender, rate of fertility, growth, education, and migration, as well as the location where the population mostly is.

After that, the second section will present the fluxes of emigration and immigration in the country, showing the most common nationalities living in the country, as well as the destination of Portugueses. The following chapter will finally bring Brazilian interference in this scenario, considering its great participation in the immigrant numbers.

CHAPTER 1 - Demographic Analysis of Portugal

The demographic analysis of a country plays a crucial role in understanding its population dynamics, characteristics, and trends. According to the Oxford Dictionary, demography is the study of the number of births, deaths, income, diseases. etc. in a specific population over a period of time, and its changes.

Demography, as a field of study, can help to explain social changes and, therefore, it has a significant and positive impact on planning public policies designed for the population (Marques, 2015). In this context, the data gathered can enable policymakers to identify emerging trends and anticipate some events or social needs regarding population, and understand social processes, such as urbanization, housing or migration.

The analysis of those data provides essential material to be used not only for politics, but also in business and infrastructure development or even by common people. In the last case, the data and outcomes have to be understandable for those who are not demographers but are getting used to its usage (Leeson, 2011) and need to understand what the numbers mean.

As an example of this use, it is possible to think of how everyone was watching all the graphs and follow-up published everyday relating the number of Covid-19 cases and deaths in areas where older people, or those considered being part of the risk-group, were gathered.

Besides, understanding a population is one of the most basic elements to understanding complex historical events and movements (Moller, 1964), such as the great discoveries, wars and great migrations. The occupation of today's United States in the 17th century, for instance, was boosted by a high occupation of British territory after an unexpected population growth in the cities.

In this chapter, it will be analyzed the demographic scenario of Portugal, examining various factors that form its population structure, looking at the size, composition and distribution among the country. There will be an overview of the country's population and an exploration of demographic components, such as age, birth and mortality rates, and population growth.

All of this, to understand the demographic profile of Portugal and why the Government[2] has been utilizing Census and demographic data to adapt and revise public policies, in an attempt to mitigate some demographic challenges, especially the aging of

---

[2] Information taken from the Government official website: https://www.portugal.gov.pt/pt/gc23. Accessed on 05 JUL 2023.

population and the decrease in the number of children being born, and facilitating migrations in what Abreu and Peixoto (2009) called "replacement immigration".

1.1 A Portuguese overview

Portugal is a European country, situated in the southwest part of the continent and its only land border is with Spain. The other borders meet the Atlantic Ocean, which explains an important part of the Country's historical background. Portugal is divided into the Continental area and two autonomous areas, which are the archipelagos of Açores and Madeiras.

During the 15th and 16th centuries, due to its economic interest in expanding its commercial borders, the country had a great significance in the expeditions and explorations outside Europe. The navigations to other parts of the world resulted afterward in the colonization of territories in America and Africa, which turned Portugal into a wealth and power reference.

The colonization explains why there are countries in South America and Africa where Portuguese is the official language and share a few similarities with Portuguese culture, creating a link among those countries.

The demographic analysis of the country is made, mostly, in accordance with the NUTS divisions. NUTS is the acronym for Nomenclature of Territorial Units, which is a geographical system used for statistical purposes with the aim of creating standardization in the EU.

According to EuroStat[3], NUTS *"is a hierarchical system for dividing up the economic territory of the EU and the UK"*, and the method has 3 divisions for the Member State. NUTS I is the major socio-economic regions; NUTS 2 is basic regions for the application of regional policies; and NUTS 3 are small regions for specific diagnoses. So, basically, the higher the NUTS, the more geographical division is available.

NUTS 2 divided Portugal into 7 regions: North, Central, Metropolitan Area of Lisbon, Algarve and Alentejo in the continent and the two autonomous regions. In turn, NUTS 3 divided those regions into 25: 23 in the continent and the two autonomous areas[4].

The official Portuguese territorial division is also made in three categories, that are also used by INE (the National Institute of Statistics) to bring more specifics data:

---

[3] Statistical office of the European Union
[4] República Portuguesa. Diversified Regions - The Regions of Portugal. Available at: https://portugalglobal.pt/EN/InvestInPortugal/RegionsofPortugal/Pages/TheRegionsofPortugal.aspx#:~:text=Portugal%20is%20divided%20into%207,25%20NUTS%20III%2C%20becoming%20%E2%80%9Cadministrative. Last visited: 25 JUL 2023

cities, villages or small towns and parishes[5].

The national law n° 11/82[6] provides that a village is an agglomerate of more than 3,000 electors that, at the same time, has at least 4 elements of public-oriented services, such as Post Office, Bank agencies, pharmacies, medical assistance stations, and schools. To be a city, however, it is necessary to have more structured elements, such as museums and libraries, public transportation, hospitals, fire stations, public parks, and a broader offer of schools, besides having at least 8,000 electors[7].

The parishes, on the other hand, are a division of the municipality that is considered a local autarchy for representing the interest of the people who lives in that area[8].

In 2022, the country had in total 159 cities, being 146 in the continent and 13 in the islands - 6 in Açores and 7 in Madeira[9], 581[10] small towns - 552 in the continent, 20 in Açores and 9 in Madeiras, and 3092 parishes[11] - 2 882 in the continent, 156 in Açores and 54 in Madeira.

1.2 The Portuguese Populational Profile

1.2.1 Population Growth

The whole amount of population, according to the National Institute of Statistics of Portugal (INE), was registered by the 2021 Census as 10 343 066 people[12][13]. If we

---

[5] In Portuguese: cidades, vilas and freguesias.

[6] Portugal. Assembleia da República. Lei n° 11/82, passed at 02 JUNE of 1982. Available at: https://terrasportuguesas.parlamento.pt/Legislacao/Lei11_82.pdf. Last visited: 25 JUL 2023

[7] ibiden

[8] Portal Autárquico. Direção Geral das Autarquias Locais. Municípios. Available at: https://portalautarquico.dgal.gov.pt/pt-PT/subsetor-da-administracao-local/entidades-autarquicas/municipios/. Last visited: 25 JUL 2023

[9] INE - Instituto Nacional de Estatísticas. Cties (No.) by Geographic localization (NUTS - 2013); Annual. Available at: https://www.ine.pt/xportal/xmain?xpid=INE&xpgid=ine_indicadores&indOcorrCod=0008069&contexto=bd&selTab=tab2. Last visited: 24 JUL 2023

[10] INE - Instituto Nacional de Estatísticas. Demographic Indicator: Small towns (No.) by Geographic localization (NUTS - 2013); Annual. Available at: https://www.ine.pt/xportal/xmain?xpid=INE&xpgid=ine_indicadores&indOcorrCod=0008071&contexto=pi&selTab=tab0&xlang=en. Last visited: 25 JUL 2023

[11] INE - Instituto Nacional de Estatísticas. Demographic Indicator: Parishes (No.) by Geographic localization (NUTS - 2013); Annual. Available at: https://www.ine.pt/xportal/xmain?xpid=INE&xpgid=ine_indicadores&indOcorrCod=0008070&contexto=pi&selTab=tab0&xlang=en. Last visited: 25 JUL 2023

[12] Data retrieved from INE - Instituto Nacional de Estatísticas. Resident population (No.) by Place of residence at Census date [2021], Age group and Household status; Decennial. Available at: https://www.ine.pt/xportal/xmain?xpid=INE&xpgid=ine_indicadores&indOcorrCod=0011755&contexto=bd&selTab=tab2&xlang=en. Last visited: 13 JUL 2023

[13] Important to note that the table highlights the indicator "population at the date of Census" (19/04/2021). If we look at other tables, the number of residents in the country during the year 2021 is different: 10 421 117. This last data was retrieved from INE - Instituto Nacional de Estatísticas. Resident population (No.) by Place of residence, Sex and Age group; Annual. Available at: https://www.ine.pt/xportal/xmain?xpid=INE&xpgid=ine_indicadores&indOcorrCod=0004163&contexto=pi&s

look, instead, at the indicator that shows the population at the end of the year, the number of residents in 2021 is higher (10 421 117), being 4 967 262 male and 5 453 855 female[14].

Important to bring here the difference between these two dataset provided by INE. The first data was gathered at the Census date, and so establishes measures for that specific date - 19/04/2021 - while the other considered the end of the year. That is the reason why some population statistics do not always match.

Eurostat (2023) however, provides a most up-to-date data, showing that on the 1st of January 2023, Portugal had 10.467.366 residents, which represents 2,33% of the European Union population of 448.387.872.

From the data provided by INE at the Census date, 9 855 909 people were living in the continent, while 236.413 in Açores and 250 744 in the Madeira island[15].

In the previous Portuguese census, issued in 2011, the population counted was 10.562.178[16], so it is possible to see a decrease of 2,07% in residents in the decade. The impact of the Portuguese population in the European Union context was not altered much, since at that time it was 2,4% (total population 439.942.305).

If we consider, however, the population at the end of the years 2011 and 2021, we can note a decrease of 1,31%, instead. Comparing both years, the only two regions with an increase of the population was the metropolitan area of Lisbon (+2,14%) and Algarve (+3,90%). The worst decrease was in Madeira (-5,50%) and Alentejo (-5,56%).[17]

According to the division of NUTS II, in 2021 the North region had 3 609 978 residents (34,64% of the total), but just the Porto district/region was responsible for 1 803.223[18]. The second most populous was the Lisbon metropolitan area with 2 883 645 residents (27,67%), followed by the Central region with 2 252 648 (21,62%). After that,

---

elTab=tab0&xlang=en. Last visited: 13 JUL 2023

[14] Data retrieved from INE - Instituto Nacional de Estatísticas. Demographic indicator: Resident population (No.) by Place of residence, Sex and Age group; Annual. Available at: https://www.ine.pt/xportal/xmain?xpid=INE&xpgid=ine_indicadores&indOcorrCod=0004163&contexto=pi&selTab=tab0&xlang=en. Accessed: 13 JUL 2023

[15] Data retrieved from INE - Instituto Nacional de Estatísticas. Demographic indicator: Resident population (No.) by Place of residence at Census date [2021], Age group and Household status; Decennial. Available at: https://www.ine.pt/xportal/xmain?xpid=INE&xpgid=ine_indicadores&indOcorrCod=0011755&contexto=bd&selTab=tab2&xlang=en. Last visited: 13 JUL 2023

[16] INE - Instituto Nacional de Estatísticas. The main data about the Census of 2011. Available at: https://www.ine.pt/bddXplorer/htdocs/widgetCensosGet.jsp. Last visited: 13 JUL 2023

[17] Data retrieved from INE - Instituto Nacional de Estatísticas. Demographic indicator: Resident population (No.) by Place of residence (NUTS - 2013), Sex and Age; Annual. Available at: https://www.ine.pt/xportal/xmain?xpid=INE&xpgid=ine_indicadores&indOcorrCod=0007307&contexto=bd&selTab=tab2. Last visited: 24 JUL 2023

[18]Data retrieved from INE - Instituto Nacional de Estatísticas. Demographic indicator: Resident population (No.) by Place of residence, Sex and Age group; Annual. Available at: https://www.ine.pt/xportal/xmain?xpid=INE&xpgid=ine_indicadores&indOcorrCod=0004163&contexto=pi&selTab=tab0&xlang=en. Last visited: 13 JUL 2023

we have Alentejo with 713.376 residents (6,85%), Algarve with 469.983 residents (4,51%) and then the islands. Açores with 238 794 residents (2,29%) and Madeira with 252.693 (2,42%)[19][20].

In a dataset presented by the INE in 2018, it was informed that just 4 457 358[21] residents lived in cities, which represented just 43,72%[22] of the population. At first glance, it seems that is a really low rate for a European country. However, attention is called to the fact that, according to the Portuguese concepts, the definition of cities is a cluster with more than 8000 electors, so it does not cover the small towns.

Important to highlight the immigrant representation among the population. INE informs that there were 698.536 foreign people with legal resident permits in 2021[23]. This represents 6,75% of the total population. EuroStat states that at the same year, 1 181.027 were foreign-born in the country[24]. The difference between these two data can be explained by the acquisition of nationality during the stay or even by people who move in without asking for the legal residence.

In spite of the partial maintenance of the percentage of Portuguese representation in the European Union population, the population development in the period of 2011 to 2023 was not consistent, since up to 2019, there was a decline in the population of the country and afterward, even with the pandemic, the number start to climb again, as shown in the graph below (Figure 1).

---

[19] The numbers here are different from those previously presented because in this case we are talking about residents at that year and not the resident population at the Census date, as it was used before.

[20] INE - Instituto Nacional de Estatísticas. Demographic indicator: Resident population (No.) by Place of residence (NUTS - 2013), Sex and Age; Annual. Available at: https://www.ine.pt/xportal/xmain?xpid=INE&xpgid=ine_indicadores&indOcorrCod=0007307&contexto=bd&selTab=tab2. Last visited: 24 JUL 2023

[21] INE - Instituto Nacional de Estatísicas. Demographic indicator: Resident population in cities (No.) by Place of residence (NUTS - 2013). Available at: https://www.ine.pt/xportal/xmain?xpid=INE&xpgid=ine_indicadores&indOcorrCod=0008306&contexto=bd&selTab=tab2&xlang=en. Last visited: 25 JUL 2023

[22] INE - Instituto Nacional de Estatísicas. Demographic indicator: Concentration index of the resident population in cities (%) by Place of residence (NUTS - 2013). Available at: https://www.ine.pt/xportal/xmain?xpid=INE&xpgid=ine_indicadores&indOcorrCod=0008305&contexto=pi&selTab=tab0. Last visited: 25 JUL 2023

[23] Data retrieved from INE. Demographic indicator: Foreign population with legal status of residence (No.) by Place of residence and Nationality Available at: https://www.ine.pt/xportal/xmain?xpid=INE&xpgid=ine_indicadores&indOcorrCod=0001236&contexto=bd&selTab=tab2. Last visited: 18 JUL 2023

[24] Data retrieved from Eurostat. Demographic indicator: Foreign-born population. Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/TPS00178/default/table?lang=en&category=demo.demo_pop. Last visited: 18 JUL 2023

Figure 1: Population of Portugal and Europe (in million).

Population of Portugal and the European Union (in million)
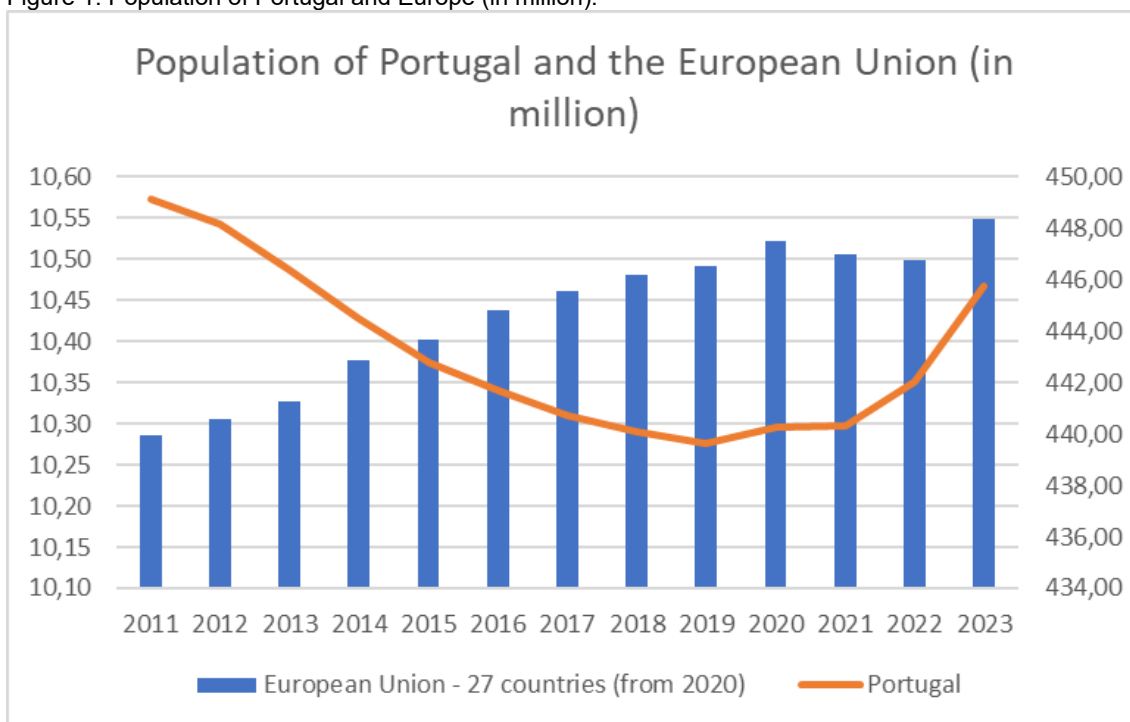
Source: Eurostat (DEMO_GIND__custom_6886898).
Graph created by the author.

The variance of members in a population can occur with an association of different factors. Population growth (or decline) is basically composed by two elements: population natural increase (the excess of births over deaths) and net migration (people arriving over people leaving). Therefore, to understand if a population is growing, it is necessary to calculate the natural increase plus net migration (Rowland, 2003). Others (Teitelbaum and Winder, 1987) explain population growth as the combination of events that would increase the number of people in a specific area, as in the case of births and immigration. If, however, we notice a population decline, there is a predominance of events that reduce the individuals in that society, such as death and emigration, which is what happened in Portugal.

For Rowland (2003), natural increase and net migration are the only ones responsible for changing population growth, while social, economic, political, and environmental factors are just the underlying causes of change.

The crude birth rate in the country, an indicator of the number of live births per 1,000 mid-year population, was 7,6‰ in 2021, lower than the 8,0‰ of the following year[25]. The crude death rate is the same kind of indicator but instead, it divides the

---

[25] Data retrieved from INE. Demographic indicator: Crude birth rate (‰) by Place of residence (NUTS - 2013); Annual. Available at: https://www.ine.pt/xportal/xmain?xpid=INE&xpgid=ine_indicadores&indOcorrCod=0008264&contexto=bd&

number of deaths of that period per 1,000 individuals. In the case of 2021, the rate was 12‰ and in 2022, it was 11,9‰[26].

Subtracting the last one from the first, we see that in 2021, the natural increase of the population was -4,4‰, indicating a negative change. As expected, this rate does not consider the migrations' impact on the population, but only the natural causes - births and deaths.

The region that suffered the worst decline was Alentejo with a rate of - 9,1‰ (the crude birth rate was 7,4‰ while the crude death rate was 16,5‰) and Açores felt the smoothest decline of - 1,3‰ (birth rate of 8,6‰ and crude death rate of 9,9‰).

However, the growth rate of the country's population was 0,26%[27] in 2021 in comparison to the previous year[28]. And this is due to the migration interference in that scenario. The crude migration rate in 2021 was 0,69%[29], impacting positively in the growth rate.

If we consider the period from 2011 to 2022, it is possible to note that every year the crude rate of natural increase was negative (Figure 2). What allowed the effective increase in the population was migration, so much so that there was an increase in the population just from 2019, as it was demonstrated in the graph above (Figure 1), when the migration rate could beat the natural decline.

The variations of the crude migratory and crude natural increase rates, as well as their impact on the crude rate of population growth, are demonstrated in the graph below (Figure 2).

---

selTab=tab2&xlang=en. Last visited: 27 JUL 2023

[26] Data retrieved from INE. Demographic indicator: Crude death rate (‰) by Place of residence (NUTS - 2013); Annual. Available at: https://www.ine.pt/xportal/xmain?xpid=INE&xpgid=ine_indicadores&indOcorrCod=0008265&contexto=bd&selTab=tab2&xlang=en. Last visited: 27 JUL 2023

[27] The difference between this data and the previous present is due to the number of decimal places.

[28] INE - Instituto Nacional de Estatísicas. Demographic Indicator: Crude rate of increase (%) by Place of residence (NUTS - 2013); Annual Available at: https://www.ine.pt/xportal/xmain?xpid=INE&xpgid=ine_indicadores&indOcorrCod=0008262&contexto=bd&selTab=tab2&xlang=en. Last visited: 28 JUL 2023

[29] INE - Instituto Nacional de Estatísicas. Demographic Indicator: Crude migratory rate (%) by Place of residence (NUTS - 2013); Annual. Available at: https://www.ine.pt/xportal/xmain?xpid=INE&xpgid=ine_indicadores&indOcorrCod=0008253&contexto=bd&selTab=tab2&xlang=en. Last visited: 28 JUL 2023

Figure 2: Population Growth of Portugal, considering the crude migratory rate, the crude rate of natural increase, and the crude rate of effective growth (in percentage).
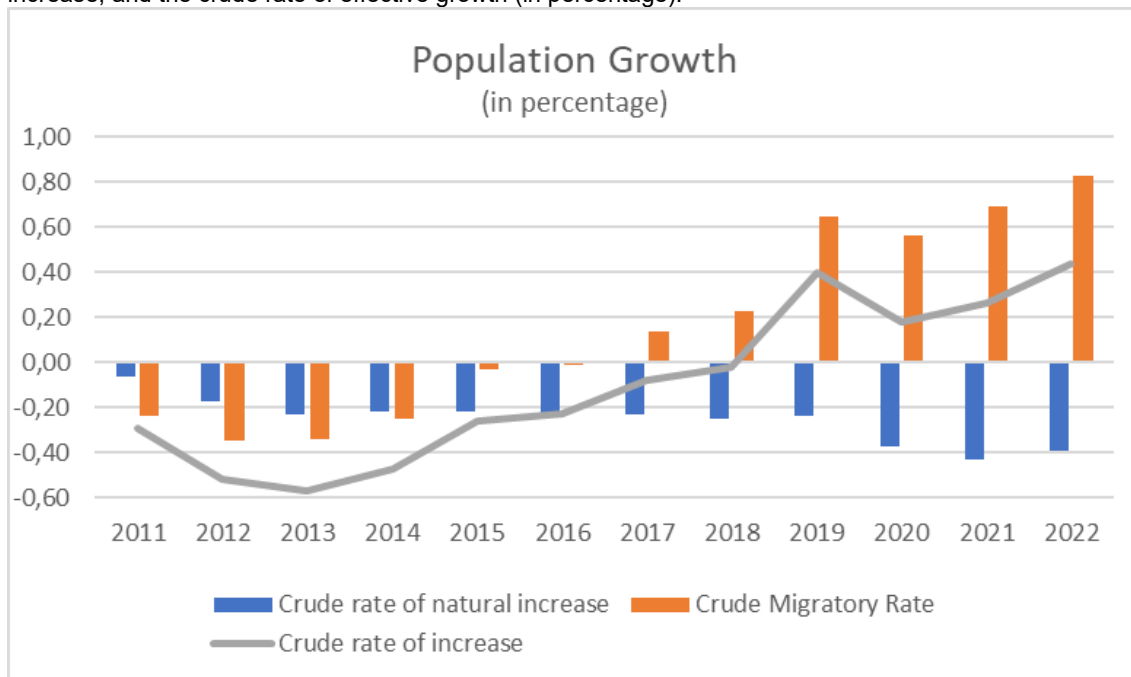
From 2017, the crude migratory rate started to be positive: 0,14% in the country. However, the natural increase was still -0,23%[30] stronger, so at the end of the year we could notice a negative increase in population of -0,08%. In 2018, the natural increase was -0,25% and the migration rate was 0,23%, still not enough. Just from 2019 this scenario reversed when the natural increase was -0,24% and the migration was 0,65%, resulting in an effective increase of 0,40%.

In spite of Alentejo being the region with the worst decrease in natural population (-0,92%) in 2021, it was also the region with the highest crude migratory rate (1,52%), which in the end led this region to be the one with the highest population growth (0,60%).

1.2.2 Fertility

The fertility rate in Portugal is a bit lower than the European Union average, and the lowest fifth. In 2021, the mean number of children born per woman in the country was 1,35, while in the EU it was 1,53. In 2020, the number in Portugal was 1,41, and in

---

[30] INE - Instituto Nacional de Estatísicas. Demographic Indicator: Crude rate of natural increase (%) by Place of residence (NUTS - 2013); Annual. Available at: https://www.ine.pt/xportal/xmain?xpid=INE&xpgid=ine_indicadores&indOcorrCod=0008263&contexto=bd&selTab=tab2&xlang=en. Last visited: 28 JUL 2023

the EU 1,50[31]. Algarve was the region with the highest fertility rate of the country (1,61) while the North region had the lowest (1,20)[32].

The interesting point that stands out from this data set is the two lowest rates in the period provided (2010-2021): 1,21 in 2013 and 1,23 in 2014. Not coincidentally, those years were the ending part of the recent Portuguese economic crisis. No need to mention that economic instability, followed by a high percentage of unemployment (16,6% in 2012 and 17,2% in 2013[33]) and a decrease in the living standards, caused a decline in the fertility rate. It is a human condition to be afraid of reproducing in periods of uncertainty. In 2014, the fertility rate started to grow and kept increasing until 2019, when the pandemic - another period of uncertainties - happened (easily noted in the years 2020 and 2021). The figure below shows better the variation in the fertility rate in the country (Figure 3) that even with this increase, those rates are considered low.

Figure 3: Total Fertility Rate in Portugal
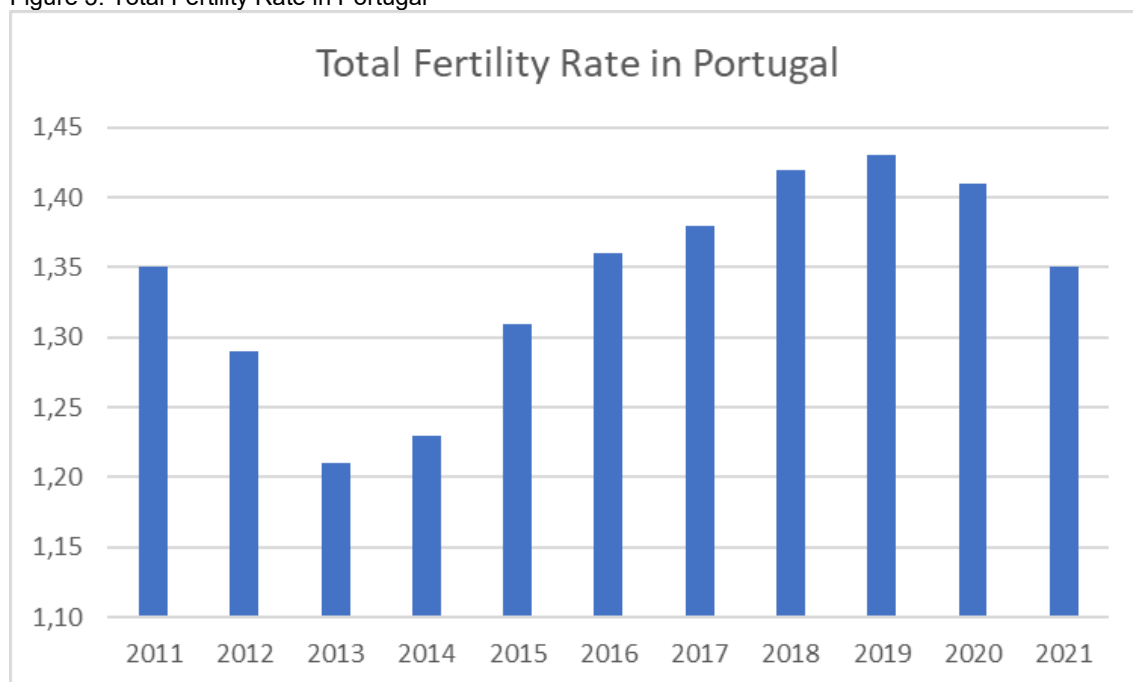
Source: INE (Total Fertility Rate).
Graph created by the author.

---

[31] Data retrieved from EuroStat. Demographic indicator: Total Fertility Rate - National Level. Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/TPS00199/default/table?lang=en&category=demo.demo_f er. Last visited: 14 JUL 2023

[32] Data retrieved from INE. Demographic indicator: Total fertility rate (No.) by Place of residence (NUTS - 2013); Annual. Available at: https://www.ine.pt/xportal/xmain?xpid=INE&xpgid=ine_indicadores&indOcorrCod=0008274&contexto=bd& selTab=tab2. Last visited: 27 JUL 2023

[33] Data retrieved from EuroStat. Demographic indicator: Total unemployment rate. Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/TPS00203/default/table?lang=en&category=labour.employ .lfsi.une. Last visited: 17 JUL 2023

The high unemployment rate affects not only the fertility rate but also the partnership formation (Sobotka et al., 2011). According to the authors, it was identified in developed countries that male unemployment has a strong impact on the formation of families, considering its still predominance in the family income. Besides, if we are considering young adults and their usual unstable jobs that are more affected by employment uncertainties, there is also a postponement of a partnership or family formation. It is presented an indication that rather than just the effective unemployment rate, the fertility also varies with the changes and uncertainties caused by the stabilities that come with an economic crisis.

At the time that many trends were indicating a reduction in the fertility rate, it was observed that people were using contraceptive methods to better plan their families, caring about giving better opportunities and providing welfare to their children. In this sense, the size of families was reduced and the number of children was controlled. The moment when new trends were observed, people were caring more about themselves and their self-fulfillment. So, individuals would choose to have a child if it fits in the one plan they decided to follow as a manner to achieve their fulfillment, so having children was not essential anymore, but a choice (Rowland, 2003).

Despite the fertility rate growing in the period (2010-2021), the number of children being born every year reduced. In 2012 the number of births was 89.841 - the highest in the period - and the following year this amount dropped to 82.787, a difference of 7.054 children being born. In 2021, the whole newborn population was 79.582, showing the natural decline in the birth rate that is a common scenario in Europe.

For a decrease in the number of births, we have two options: the first is that fewer women are giving birth, and the second is that those who chose to give birth, are having fewer children. These two phenomena are interconnected, since when fewer children are being born, there will be fewer women - in adult age - to give birth.

Women are also having children at an older age. In 2021, the female mean age at birth of the first child was 30,4, while in 2011 the mean age was 28,4.[34]

Considering that a lot less children are being born every year and, on the other hand, the fertility rate keeps increasing, it is possible to conclude, from the combination of these elements that, in fact, there occurred a reduction in the number of women in the childbearing age in the country, since this indicator measures the average number of

---

[34] Data retrieved from EuroStat. Demographic indicator: Mean age of women at childbirth and at birth of first child - TPS00017__custom_7016972. Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/TPS00017__custom_7016972/default/table?lang=en. Last visited: 26 JUL 2023.

children per women, which include those who do not have any children (Rowland, 2003).

From the amount of births in 2021, 10.808 children were born from a mother citizen of a country different than Portugal, representing a significant 13,58% of the total. This portion has been increasing since 2015, and in 2020 the percentage of children of foreign mothers was 13,43%.[35]

Looking at the yearly increase in the number of children born from foreign mothers compared to the decrease in the general number of children born, it is possible to conclude that fewer Portuguese women are giving birth in the country.

The incentives received from the country for having a child are not that broad. Social security would pay the normal salary in the first 120 days of the baby's life, either for the mother or the father and for those who have low income, there are a few benefits such as free kindergarten and a subsidiary payment for helping with the early costs (Portuguese Social Security, 2023). Nonetheless, as we can see, there is not much help in the effective increase of the birth rate.

1.2.3 Population Structure

The country's population is composed mostly, but not by far, of women[36]. Since 2011, the composition is around 52% to 53% of women, which of course represents a well gender-distributed society. Having this equilibrium is important, in a patriarchal society, to balance the marriage and childbearing in a different-sex couple. In societies where there is a high rate of male births comparable to women[37] or a high rate of men immigrating, the number of marriages and birth rate suffer an impact for the bare reason of not having enough women to get married with.

At birth, the gender differs from the above mentioned gender population division. In the period available at EuroStat[38] (2012 - 2021), all the years had a majority of male births. There is no massive difference between the genders, considering the major is around 51% against the 49% of female newborns. In the last year registered, there were

---

[35] Data retrieved from EuroStat. Demographic indicator: Live births by mother's age and citizenship - DEMO_FACZC__custom_6927708. Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/DEMO_FACZC__custom_6927708/default/table?lang=en. Last visited: 18 JUL 2023.

[36] Analysis made from the data provided by INE - Instituto Nacional de Estatísticas for the period of 2011 to 2022. Available at: https://www.ine.pt/xportal/xmain?xpid=INE&xpgid=ine_indicadores&indOcorrCod=0004163&contexto=pi&selTab=tab0. Last visited: 13 JUL 2023

[37] Phenomenon happening in Asia and Middle-East, where it is more valuable - socially or financially - having a son over a daughter.

[38] Data retrieved from EuroStat. Demographic indicator: Live births by mother's age and newborn's sex - DEMO_FASEC__custom_6927551. Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/DEMO_FASEC__custom_6927551/default/table?lang=en. Last visited: 18 JUL 2023

1942 more male newborns (40.762), representing 51,22% of the total (total 79.582).

A higher number of male newborns is a natural condition in the world. The sex ratio at birth is calculated considering how many males there are in a population per 100 women. In the world, the sex ratio at age 0-1 is 105,6, which means that in this group age, there are 105,6 males for every 100 females. In Portugal, the ratio is 105,4, and in Europe 105,5.[39]

The natural question, then, is how the Portuguese population is composed mostly of women, as it was mentioned before. The obvious conclusion is that during the advancement of age, there is a decrease in the male population, and that happens for a lot of reasons.

Every year during the period of 2012 to 2021, there was a higher mortality rate of male infants. In 2021, for example, 191 less-than-a-year old died: 100 male and 91 female[40]. The pattern is the same for those who died less than a week after being born and then in the period between 7 to 27-days after being born.

Infant mortality, however, is not the only reason for the alteration in the sex ratio. Men are biologically more susceptible to health problems such as fat surrounding organs and a weaker immune system and even more likely to smoke or have behavior that can affect life longevity (Ortiz-Ospina and Beltekian, 2018).

For instance, in 2021, 58% of the population above 65 years of age in the country were women. This number goes higher if we consider people older than 75: 61% are women[41].

That can be also seen if we consider the number of widows (35.494) to be much higher than the number of widowers (14 414) in 2021, meaning that 71% of surviving spouses in Portugal were women[42].

The difference between the gender populations remains evident if looking at the life expectancy at birth of males and females. In 2021, the mean life expectancy in the

---

[39] World Health Organization. *Sex ratio at birth (male births per female births)*. Available at: https://platform.who.int/data/maternal-newborn-child-adolescent-ageing/indicator-explorer-new/MCA/sex-ratio-at-birth-(male-births-per-female-births). Last visited: 17 JUL 2023

[40] Data retrieved from EuroStat. Demographic indicator: Infant mortality by age and sex. Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/DEMO_MINFS/default/table?lang=en&category=demo.demo_mor. Last visited: 18 JUL 2023

[41] Data retrieved from EuroStat. Demographic indicator: Population on 1 January by age group and sex - DEMO_PJANGROUP__custom_6966363. Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/DEMO_PJANGROUP__custom_6966363/default/table?lang=en. Last visited: 20 JUL 2023

[42] Data retrieved from INE - Instituto Nacional de Estatísicas. Demographic Indicator: Surviving spouses (No.) by Place of residence of deceased spouse (NUTS - 2013), Sex and Marriage modality; Annual. Available at: https://www.ine.pt/xportal/xmain?xpid=INE&xpgid=ine_indicadores&indOcorrCod=0008163&contexto=bd&selTab=tab2&xlang=en. Last visited: 26 JUL 2023

EU was 80.1 while in Portugal it was 81,5. In the country, the female expectancy was 84,4 and the male 78,5.[43] We cannot say, however, that those were the highest expectations of the period (2011 - 2021).

From 2011 to 2019, there was an improvement in life expectancy with a clear escalation of age every year until it reached 81,9 years on average in 2019 - 78,7 for males and 84,8 for females. Nevertheless, the expectancy dropped in 2020.

The high number of deaths during the years 2020 and 2021 altered the life expectancy in most countries of the world. Since it did not occur at the time any other major event that could have interfered with deaths, it is possible - and logical - to attribute that effect to COVID-19 (Huang et. al, 2023). In Portugal, the year saw the referred drop, and the country's life expectancy still has not recovered to the pre-pandemic level.

The decrease in the life expectancy at birth is not a phenomenon exclusive to Portugal and the country was not the worst affected. Comparing the life expectancy of the years 2019 and 2020, countries such as the United States and Russia had a really important reduction: the US saw a decrease of 1,85 years and Russia 2,16 years. At the same period, Portugal faced a reduction of 0,85, while its European companions Spain (1,36 years) and Italy (1,34 years) saw a higher decrease (Mazzuco and Campostrini, 2022).

The difference in life expectancy between genders demonstrates, again, that Portugal follows a standard scenario where women live longer than men and, therefore, it is natural that the female population is larger (Ritchie and Roser 2019), even if the sex ratio at birth shows different. If we look another time at the gender ratio and point to the age of 50+, the previous proportion of 105,4 falls to 79,2 and in the group age of 70+, the number goes to 67,9 males for each 100 females[44].

Considering the mean life expectancy is 81,5 years, if we split the population in two groups around the half age, we will see the majority of the population is older than 40. From the data provided by EuroStat, 58,76% of the population was in that group in 2021. Out of the total female population, 61% were older than 40[45]. Having in mind that 58,76% of the population is older than 40 and the life expectancy is 81,5, we can

---

[43] Data retrieved from EuroStat. Demographic indicator: Life expectancy by age and sex Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/DEMO_MLEXPEC__custom_6964459/default/table?lang= en. Last visited: 20 JUL 2023.

[44] World Health Organization. *Sex ratio at birth (male births per female births)*. Available at: https://platform.who.int/data/maternal-newborn-child-adolescent-ageing/indicator-explorer-new/MCA/sex-ratio-at-birth-(male-births-per-female-births). Last visited: 17 JUL 2023

[45] Data retrieved from EuroStat. Demographic indicator:Population on 1 January by age group and sex - DEMO_PJANGROUP__custom_6979379. Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/DEMO_PJANGROUP__custom_6979379/default/table?lan g=en. Last visited: 21 JUL 2023

conclude that the majority of the Portuguese population is living in the second half of their lives.

In a closer examination of the data of each age group (5 years gap) the number of people within them increased until the group 45-49 and then started to fall again (Figure 4). Portugal had around 800.000 people in this group, which represents 7,8% of the total population[46], with a prevalence of women. The median age of the population in 2020 was 45,5 while in 2050 the expected age would be 51,2[47].

Figure 4: Resident population in Portugal by Sex and Age Group - 2021
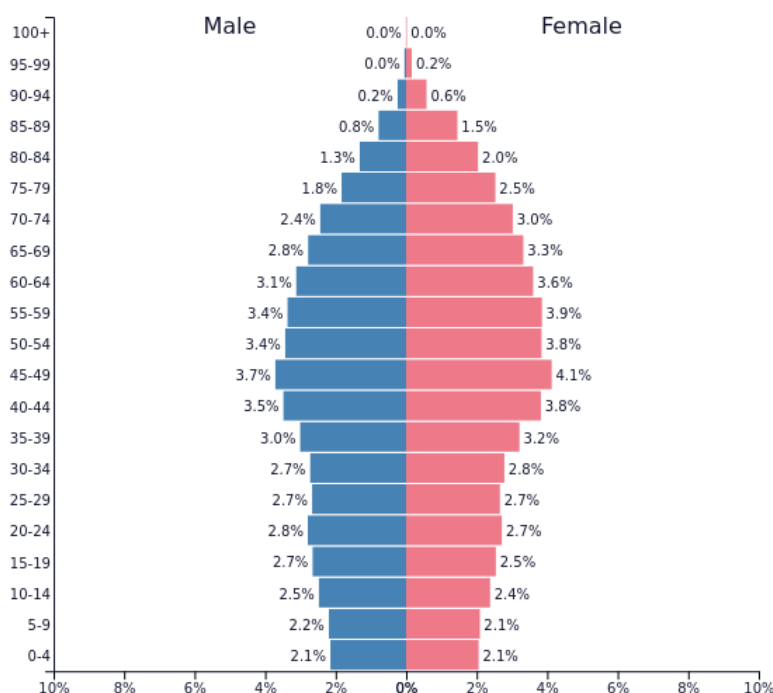
Source: PopulationPyramids.net (Portugal 2021).
Graph created by Population Pyramids

The elderly, thinking of the definition given by the UN as those who are older than 60[48], would represent 29% of the population. However, the Portuguese scenario considers an elderly person those who is older than 65[49]. In this case, 22% of the Portuguese population is part of the group[50].

[46] ibidem
[47] Data retrieved from Eurostat. Demographic indicator: Demographic balances and indicators by type of projection - PROJ_19NDBI__custom_7085094. Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/PROJ_19NDBI__custom_7085094/default/table?lang=en. Last visited: 03 AUG 2023
[48] UNHCR. Older persons. Available at: https://emergency.unhcr.org/protection/persons-risk/older-persons#:~:text=An%20older%20person%20is%20defined,or%20age%2Drelated%20health%20conditions. Last visited: 24 JUL 2023
[49] Portugal. Assembleia da República. Decreto-Lei n.º 58/2016, passed at 29 August of 2016. Available at: https://pgdlisboa.pt/leis/lei_mostra_articulado.php?nid=2616&tabela=leis. Last visited: 24 JUL 2023
[50] Data retrieved from EuroStat. Demographic indicator:Population on 1 January by age group and sex -

The youth population, as a matter of contrast, represents just 10% of the population, with around a million people[51], if we consider the definition given by the UN of people between 15-24[52].

The importance of this data, however, relies on how many people there are in the working age group and how many are at the retirement age. And most important, how many are indeed working.

In Portugal, the minimum age to work is 16 (Portuguese Labor Law, 2009), following some other rules. The minimum age to retire is 66 years and 04 months, along with the requirement of paying social security for a minimum period of time (Segurança Social, 2023[53]). In that perspective, the working age in the country would be from 16 to 66.

Following the definition given by OECD (2013), the working age group is considered those who are between 15-64, slightly different from the legal perspective of Portugal. According to the Organization, Portugal would have 64,1% of its population in the working age. This rate does not change if we consider the group as being 16-66 years[54]. EuroStat, on the other hand, considers the "labor force population", as those between 15-74[55].

Besides the data presented, it is worth emphasizing that the population is aging. As was previously discussed, the majority of the population is living the second half of their life, and the fullest age group is that of 45-49 years old. The life expectancy is getting higher, as well as the old-age dependency ratio, at the same time that the crude birth rate is getting down. It is evident that the country's population is getting older and it is inevitable the problem of the aging population, a dilemma shared with other European countries.

As it deserves more attention, the following chapter division will bring more attention to the aging population and the numbers linked to that.

DEMO_PJANGROUP__custom_6979379. Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/DEMO_PJANGROUP__custom_6979379/default/table?lang=en. Last visited: 21 JUL 2023

[51] ibiden

[52] United Nations. Who Are the Youth?. Available at: https://www.un.org/en/global-issues/youth#:~:text=There%20is%20no%20universally%20agreed,of%2015%20and%2024%20years. Last visited: 24 JUL 2023

[53] In English: Portuguese Social Security.

[54] Data retrieved from EuroStat. Demographic indicator: Population on 1 January by age and sex - DEMO_PJAN__custom_6979702. Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/DEMO_PJAN__custom_6979702/default/table?lang=en. Last visited: 21 JUL 2023

[55] Data retrieved from EuroStat. Demographic indicator: Total unemployment rate. Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/TPS00203/default/table?lang=en&category=labour.employ.lfsi.une. Accessed: 24 JUL 2023

1.2.4 Challenges of an aging population

In the past, there was a concern about the huge growth of the population and its effect on economic development, the environment, and public policies. Bearing in mind that educated women have more choices for themselves and independence, changing the status of poor people and dressing policies for educating women would be considered a solution for the problem of regulating the fertility rate (Furedi, 1997), so there was a lot of effort in that area. Governments were investing in controlling fertility rates by focusing on women or even by developing more straightforward policies, such as the only-child policy in China.

According to Furedi (1997), governmental policies are always based on the idea that there are too many people relying on limited resources and what happened in Europe at that time could be pointed as a lack of social organization and could be solved just by distributing better the population, considering the number of unemployed people in some places and the population growth above replacement in others. So, for him, instead of putting an effort to incentivize the increase in births, the investment should be in the young population that already exists.

In the last few decades, however, this scenario changed and we saw a reduction in both rates. Education cannot be considered the only factor in the reduction of fertility and birth rate. We also have to acknowledge urbanization, access to contraceptives and to health systems, and financial elements - economic support, employment opportunities, stability, and housing.

From this change, the concern altered and now the focus is on the cost of maintaining elderly people, considering all the pension plans and their consumption of healthcare, which is almost three times higher than non-elderly people (Jackson, 2011). Recently, some other public policies have been developed with the goal of incentivizing older people to stay in the labor market[56] in an attempt to mitigate or postpone the burden.

The combination of some elements, such as low fertility and an increase in life expectancy, highlights an aging population. This phenomenon can be easily noted in Europe, specifically in countries such as Italy, Germany, and Portugal.

The aging index is calculated by INE considering the relation between the elderly

---

[56] Eurostat. *Ageing Europe - statistics on population developments*. Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php?title=Ageing_Europe_-_statistics_on_population_developments#Older_people_.E2.80.94_population_overview. Last visited: 31 JUL 2023

(65+) over the young (age 0-14) population. In Portugal, the aging index provided by INE shows a diversity of aging among the territories and the mean ratio for the country shows that there were 181,3 elderly for every 100 young people in 2021. While in Centro the aging ratio was 226,9 and in Alentejo was 214,1, in Açores the ratio was 113,6, showing that even within the country, the age division of the population was unequal[57]. Allowing us to conclude that, in those first regions, there is a greater inequality between young people and elderly populations, being this last group more than doubled in size than the previous one. In Açores, however, it is possible to say that there is much more equality between these two groups. Moreover, in every region of the country, it is notable that there are more elderly than young, seeing that the ratio in the country was always higher than 100.

Analyzing the data provided by EuroStat, the aging ratio in the population is different. In the European context, Portugal would be the second with the highest index (1,67), while Italy is the first with 1,83 as a ratio. For the year 2021, the European Union had its index as 1,39.[58]

The proportion of young people (age 0-14) in the population of Portugal is one of the lowest in the European Union. In the Union, this group representation is 15% of the total population, and in Portugal it is 12,4%, the second from bottom to top, sharing the position with Malta[59]. The population being more than 65, however, is much higher. In the European Union, 20,9% of the population are in this group, while in Portugal 22,4%. The country is in the fourth position, after Greece (22.5%), Finland (22.7%), and Italy (23.5%)[60]. In 2050, the group of older than 65 will represent a third of the country's population[61].

Additionally, considering the elderly over 80, Portugal still has one of the biggest proportions. In the EU, the group represents 6% of the total population, while in Portugal

---

[57] Data retrieved from INE - Instituto Nacional de Estatísicas. Demographic Indicator: Ageing ratio (No.) by Place of residence (NUTS - 2013); Annual. Available at: https://www.ine.pt/xportal/xmain?xpid=INE&xpgid=ine_indicadores&indOcorrCod=0008258&contexto=bd&selTab=tab2. Last visited: 31 JUL 2023

[58] Data retrieved from Eurostat. Demographic indicator:Population on 1 January by broad age group and sex - DEMO_PJANBROAD__custom_7048759. Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/DEMO_PJANBROAD__custom_7048759/default/table?lang=en. Last visited: 31 JUL 2023

[59] Data retrieved from Eurostat. Demographic Indicator: Population by age group. Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/tps00010/default/table?lang=en. Last visited: 28 JUL 2023.

[60] Data retrieved from Eurostat. Demographic Indicator: Proportion of population aged 65 and over. Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/tps00028/default/table?lang=en. Last visited: 28 JUL 2023.

[61] Data retrieved from Eurostat. Demographic indicator: Demographic balances and indicators by type of projection - PROJ_19NDBI__custom_7051858. Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/PROJ_19NDBI__custom_7051858/default/table?lang=en. Last visited: 31 JUL 2023

is 6,6%, just behind Germany (7,1%), Greece (7,3%) and Italy (7,6%)[62]. It is undeniable the representation of the elderly in the country.

According to the definition given by INE[63], the old-age dependency ratio is calculated considering the relation between the old population (contemplated those who are older than 65) and the working-age population (those who are 15-64). This ratio in Portugal has been increasing for the whole period available (1970 - 2022), as it is possible to see in Figure 5 (below). Looking at the big picture, in the last fifty years the dependency more than doubled, considering that in 1972 the ratio was 15,7, and in 2022 reached 38[64]. As a reference, in 2011 it was 29,1, and the projections say that in 2050 it will be 62,8[65]. That means the old population is increasing in relation to the working-age population, which opens discussions about the sustainability of the pension system.

The data provided by the UN Population Division has ratios slightly different, however, the index direction and the movement of the indicator are the same. As is possible to see in the Graph below (Figure 5), the old dependency ratio has been increasing in the whole period, and, following the provision mentioned above, it will still increase until 2050, indicating the elderly population will be even bigger.

Important to note that in 1950, there were many more children than elderly (65+) depending on the working-age population. A high child dependency ratio indicates many children in society, which can be seen as a good aspect in the sense that there will be a lot of people entering the job market and, consequently, cause an increase in the working-age population. On the other hand, having a lot of people accessing the job market might lead them to face high competition in the job market, including their access to it.

Clearly, the population in the country is aging and the number of elderly is increasing, which in turn may bring the problem of the burden in pensions. The shift between being a country with a high child dependency ratio and a low old-age dependency ratio happened in 2000, pointing out that after the mentioned year, the

---

[62] Data retrieved from Eurostat. Demographic Indicator: Population by age group. Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/tps00010/default/table?lang=en. Last visited: 28 JUL 2023.
[63] INE - Instituto Nacional de Estatísicas. Metadata - Definition. Concept: OLD-AGE DEPENDENCY RATIO. Available at: https://www.ine.pt/bddXplorer/htdocs/minfo.jsp?var_cd=0001271&lingua=EN. Last visited: 28 JUL 2023
[64] Data retrieved from INE - Instituto Nacional de Estatísicas. Demographic Indicator: Old-age dependency ratio (No.) by Sex; Annual Available at: https://www.ine.pt/xportal/xmain?xpid=INE&xpgid=ine_indicadores&indOcorrCod=0001271&contexto=bd&selTab=tab2. Last visited: 28 JUL 2023
[65] Data retrieved from Eurostat. Demographic indicator: Demographic balances and indicators by type of projection - PROJ_19NDBI__custom_7051801. Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/PROJ_19NDBI__custom_7051801/default/table?lang=en. Last visited: 31 JUL 2023

country has more elderly in comparison to children and has to be more concern about sustaining pensions. The UN estimates that in 1990 there were about 2 million children (0-14) in the country and 1.3 million elderly (65+), in 2000 when the scenario changes there were around 1.6 million people in each of the groups (0-14 and 65+) and in 2010, the children were 1.5 million while the elderly (65+) were 1.9 million. In 2020, the difference was even bigger: 1.3 million children (0-14) and 2.3 million elderly (65+).

Figure 5: Dependency ratio (child and old-age) in Portugal in the period of 1950 and 2020
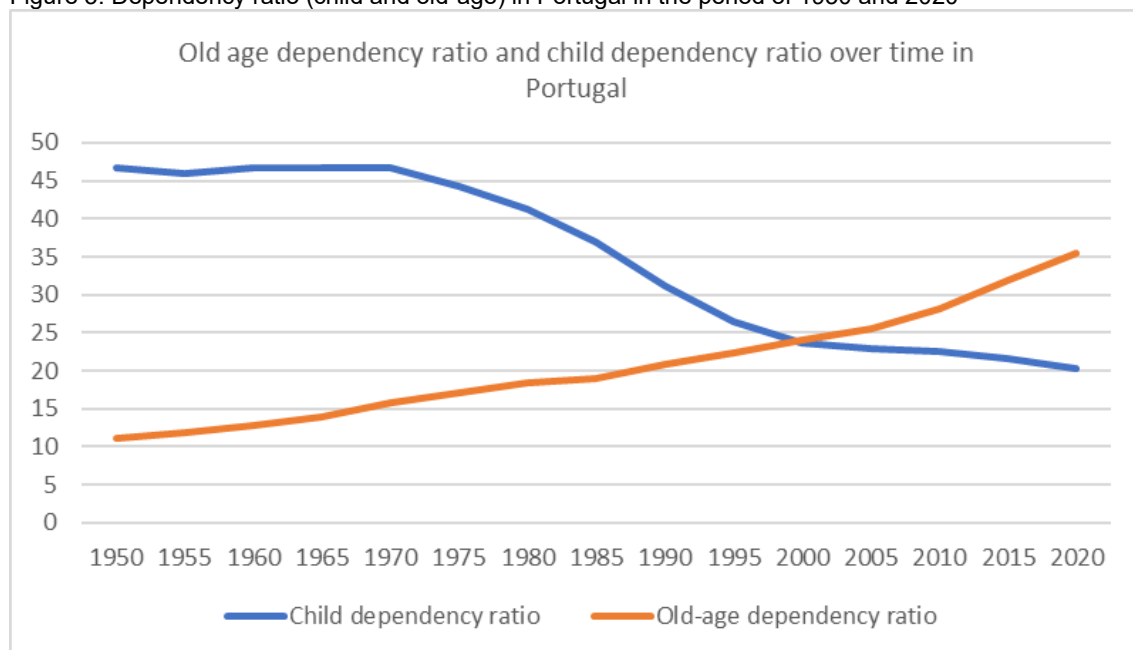
Source: UN Population Division. Graph created by the author

As it is evident, the old-age dependency ratio is dependent on changes in the number of elderly persons but also on the number of people in the working age. As an example, the female dependency was higher than the male's every year, which reinforced the bigger size of the female population.

In terms of getting the dependency stronger year by year, Portugal has the same pattern as the European Union that, in spite of having a lower ratio (33 in 2022) in comparison with the country, also faced a continuous increase since 2011[66]. Besides, Portugal has one of the highest ratios registered for a country in Eurostat, being the third[67] in the list, in the back of Italy (37,5) and Finland (37,4).

If we look, instead, at the total dependency ratio, considering not only the elderly

---

[66] Data retrieved from Eurostat. Demographic indicator: Old-age-dependency ratio. Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/TPS00198/default/table?lang=en&category=demo.demo_ind. Last visited: 28 JUL 2023

[67] According to EuroStat, the Portuguese old-age dependency ratio in 2022 was 37,2, so that is why it is in the third position.

but also the young population who depend on those of working age, the scale goes from 51,9 in 2011 to 57,9 in 2021[68]. Seeing that the young age dependency ratio is getting lower each year (22,8 in 2011 to 20,6 in 2021)[69], we can only conclude that this increase in the total dependency ratio happened just because there was an increase in the elderly dependency.

The increase in the old age dependency ratio means that the old population, as those who benefit from public pensions, is growing in relation to those who work and pay for social security. The fact that the dependency of the elderly has been expanding each year is a concern, since it brings economic problems for the country.

The working-age population needs to support both young and older people. In general, the private support goes to the children and the public support goes to the elderly. However, those who finance both schemes are the population who are contributing (Pita Barros, 2019).

Along with those data, the median age of the population had a boost in the last fifty years. In 1971, the median age in Portugal was 29,7, in 2011 was 41,7 and 2021 was 45,8, which demonstrates that, in addition to the significant advancement in the last 50 years, the last decade faced a more accelerated growth[70]. The speed of this development starts to lessen in the next decades, as the projections on age made by Eurostat suggest, in 2030 the median age in the country will be 49 years and in 2050 will be 51,2[71]. Either way, there will be a senior population.

 The increase in life expectancy can be seen as a success, since it is attributed to economic and social developments, such as labor conditions, sanitation, or urbanization, in addition to advancements in health care, environment conditions, medicines and preventive treatments, and access to basic public services, resulting in the improvement of the general quality of life.

An aging population causes concern for all the costs imputed on the government

---

[68] Data retrieved from INE - Instituto Nacional de Estatísicas. Demographic Indicator: Total dependency ratio (No.) by Sex; Annual. Available at: https://www.ine.pt/xportal/xmain?xpid=INE&xpgid=ine_indicadores&indOcorrCod=0002720&contexto=bd&selTab=tab2&xlang=en. Last visited: 28 JUL 2023
[69] Data retrieved from INE - Instituto Nacional de Estatísicas. Demographic Indicator:Young-age dependency ratio (No.) by Sex; Annual. Available at: https://www.ine.pt/xportal/xmain?xpid=INE&xpgid=ine_indicadores&indOcorrCod=0001282&contexto=bd&selTab=tab2. Last visited: 28 JUL 2023
[70] Data retrieved from Eurostat. Demographic indicator: Population structure indicators at national level - DEMO_PJANIND__custom_7051331. Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/DEMO_PJANIND__custom_7051331/default/table?lang=en. Last visited: 31 JUL 2023
[71] Data retrieved from Eurostat. Demographic indicator: Demographic balances and indicators by type of projection. Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/proj_19ndbi/default/table?lang=en. Last visited: 31 JUL 2023

and its social security. For this reason, it is also important to pay attention to how the working-age population is contributing to the matter, for example, studying the index of regular employment and contributions, and from that, analyzing the best policies to attenuate the problem. Or even increasing the population at working age by supporting those who are out of the job market to get in or decreasing the rate of those getting out.

Apart from this, Marques et al. (2016) defend the importance of an efficient reproductive system, in which the attention should be put on how long the individual lives. They say that the more effective the system, the fewer births will be needed to maintain a specific population. In this case, it should not be considered just the birth rate but also the longevity of that person and their capacity to survive to the fertile age and to reproduce in a specific area, since dying before reaching the fertile age or moving to somewhere else after reached it will not solve population problem of that region. They propose that Portugal should not be concerned about increasing the stock of population to grow the production but, instead, should improve the education for the already existing population so they can be more productive by constructing an intensive economy based on knowledge, even with less available human resources.

As it was said before, the old-age dependency ratio shows that in the next thirty years, there will be around 1,6 people in working age for each person over 65 years in Portugal (62,8 ratio). It is even possible to conclude that, besides the old age ratio increase, elderly people will be dependent for longer. The World Health Organization (2018) says that in 2018, 90% of the population over the age of retirement in Portugal was receiving a pension.

In the country, a bit more than 2.900.000 were receiving pensions in 2020[72]. The number of beneficiaries is even higher than the number of the population over 65, meaning that some beneficiaries were being paid before reaching the age, for reasons that might be for deciding for an early retirement or for spouse reasons. Notice this number represents almost 30% of the total population of the country.

Public pensions were thought, when of their creation, as a measure to avoid poverty, considering the natural limitation of older people to maintain their jobs with the advancement of age. At the beginning of public pension schemes, when there was not any concern about the size of the retired population, the usual system "pay-as-you-go" allocated the current contributions to those who were receiving from the public pension at that time, with the expectation that the next generation of contributors would pay for

---

[72] Data retrieved from Eurostat. Demographic indicator: Pensions beneficiaries at 31st December. Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/spr_pns_ben/default/table?lang=en. Last visited: 03 AUG 2023

the next generation of beneficiaries. Since the number of recipients got higher, this scenario had to change, leading to a reform in public pension systems, and nowadays, workers have to pay better contributions to support a higher number of elderly and there is no certainty that they - workers - would be enjoying the same amount of benefits when they get retired (Whitehouse, 2007).

Considering that the demographic pyramid is changing in Europe and Portugal, with an increase in the life expectancy and in the proportion of people within the older groups, the public pension system needs to keep changing in order to absorb this progress. In 2050, there is an expectation that the group older than 65 will compose 33,7% of the Portuguese population and those older than 80 years will compose 12,7%, almost doubling the 2021 proportion[73].

As it was mentioned, one way to mitigate the weight placed on the working-age population is to encourage the elderly to keep working. The choice made by older people to stay active can be decided in an attempt to avoid loneliness or having a daily busy mind, preserving health and physical conditions, but also to enrich their pensions and basic subsistence. There is also the willingness to work with the goal of saving for retirement or to guarantee a full pension retirement.

However, in order to be really effective, the materialization of this possibility should include the implementation of labor policies regarding elderly workers, including incentivization programs aimed at employers to recruit them or punishing the companies otherwise. Not doing it would mean that instead of having a pension-financing problem, countries would face an unemployment-financing problem (Magnus, 2012). A research conducted in 2010 presents that training older workers could be a way to keep them employed, since it shows that individuals who took training courses to obtain specific skills - such as those that involve technologies - were less likely to leave the job (Belloni et al., 2015), demonstrating again the importance of investing in the area.

The EU Governments have already paid attention on the issue and the policymakers have been looking at both roads: study the maintenance of the pension system but also develop the labor market for older people working longer (Eurostat, 2020).

It is also important for the Government the consumption and taxes generated from this share of the population, who would maintain steady incomes. Changing pension

---

[73] Data retrieved from Eurostat. Demographic indicator: Demographic balances and indicators by type of projection - PROJ_19NDBI__custom_7059876. Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/PROJ_19NDBI__custom_7059876/default/table?lang=en. Last visited: 01 AUG 2023

plans by altering the coefficients of contributions or the receiving payments, or even increasing the retirement age, which means an increase in the contribution period, might determine policies to postpone pension breakdowns.

Obviously, the success of this plan involves, to some degree, the existence of appropriate jobs (Eurostat, 2023) for this particular group. In 2021, Portugal had 189.700 employed people who were older than 65 years, of which 27.200 were older than 75 years. Compared to 2020, we realize a great difference. In that year, the population over 65 who were employed was 255.600, and the group over 75 represented 61.000, meaning there was a decrease of 55,4% in this last group between the two years[74].

The employed population of this category regarding the European Union does not follow this pattern. In 2021, the overall employed population older than 65 was 5.226.700, a slight increase from the previous year (5.140.200). The population over 75, however, had an increase of 19,6% in that period, since in 2020 there were 497.500 employees and 595.400 in 2021[75].

In Portugal, 8,2% of the people older than 65 were employed in 2021, while in the European Union, the proportion was lower (5,7%)[76]. Bearing in mind that in Portugal the proportion of the population within this group age is higher than in the EU, this positive difference between the employed rate is expressive. The rate considerably falls when dealing with the population over 75 years: 2,4% in Portugal and 1,4% in the EU.

In those group ages, it is also important to note the self-employment numbers. In 2021, Portugal had 93.700 people over 65 classified as self-employed, another 4% of the total population in this group. The EU had 2.129.700 (2,2% of the age group population)[77]. In Portugal, those in the older age group (75+) who were self-employed were 19.100 people and 338.700 in the EU.

The presented data show Portugal as one of the European countries with the highest rate of elderly people and that they keep active in formal working. However, even considering those who are in the group over 60 and the high rate of employment among

---

[74] Data retrieved from Eurostat. Demographic indicator: Population by sex, age, citizenship and labour status (1000) - LFSA_PGANWS__custom_7065721. Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/LFSA_PGANWS__custom_7065721/default/table?lang=en . Last visited: 01 AUG 2023

[75] ibiden

[76] Data retrieved from Eurostat. Demographic indicator: Employment rates by sex, age and citizenship (%) - LFSA_ERGAN__custom_7065583. Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/LFSA_ERGAN__custom_7065583/default/table?lang=en. Last visited: 01 AUG 2023

[77] Data retrieved from Eurostat. Demographic indicator: Self-employment by sex, age and citizenship (1 000) - LFSA_ESGAN__custom_7065589. Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/LFSA_ESGAN__custom_7065589/default/table?lang=en. Last visited: 02 AUG 2023

them, in 30 years, they will compose the category of super-old population, who will depend on pensions.

As the fertility and mortality rates decline, the peak of the population in the pyramid is shifting to the upper part and the dependency of the elderly is going higher. The currently working population will be in 2050 part of those in retirement age, receiving from pensions. The tendency is that the working population will be older and the dependency ratio will also get higher.

There is a narrative presented by Greer et. al. (2021) that the burden on the younger generation in paying pensions leads to a criticism of the welfare state, especially if people had in mind that retired people are getting rich from their pension while the young themselves would never see the benefits of their heavy contribution. From this, an idea of cuts will be developed, either in the current generation (both for young or old people) or for the future generation, to avoid the bankruptcy of the welfare state.

To deal with the reduction of the working-age population one may concern to try to keep older people on the job market, raise the productivity of those who are still working, or increase immigration.

As it was mentioned, keeping older people on the market would require investment and policies aimed at incentivizing companies to hire and train them, since it seems that their willingness to keep working is not much of a problem, considering the reduction they would have for leaving the labor market.

Raising the fertility rate could be also thought of as a simple possibility but it would work only in a long-term scenario. Some countries tried to do it by reducing taxes or giving incentives to families giving birth, however, it is not that easy, especially after the development of the idea and culture of planning families. That, as it was said, does not solve a short-term problem. Incentivizing people staying longer in the labor market or raising immigration could have more effect.

The immigration in this scenario could enter as a form of moving the active population from one country to another. However, to sustain a pension system or to maintain the size of a population would require a really high flux of immigration, which is hardly welcomed by the population and faces some political challenges.

In the past decades, the world has seen the aging population phenomenon as the baby boomers (those who were born after the war) start to retire. This generation saw the economic and productive growth that happened during their lives and are not much concerned about their pensions, since they will not be affected by the problems that arise from aging. The European countries have to face these challenges and

countries such as Italy, Germany, and Portugal have to take rapid measures in an attempt to reduce the problem that is already imminent.

1.2.5 Population density and distribution

Another interesting demographic factor about the country is the location where the population lives. An extensive part of the inhabitants are near the sea, which makes a lot of sense considering the country's historical background.

As it was seen before, the last official data (from 2018) shows that just 43,72% of the population are residents of cities. If we take, however, the information presented by the World Bank[78] about the number of people living in urban areas in Portugal this amount goes to 6.706.183, which increases the percentage to 65% of the population. This difference is due to the fact that this last provider considers the urban population as those living in urban areas, and not just cities. The proportion is still less than in Europe which, in 2018, had around 74%[79] of its population living in urban areas.

Eurostat establishes that for the year 2021, around 5 million people were living in areas that were predominantly urban. Those who were living in the littoral part of the territory were more than 8.500.000, representing 85% of the total population, meaning that even if people were not living in urban regions, they were near the Coast[80].

The density of people living in those areas of course also changes. The mean population density in the country in 2021 was 113 people per square kilometer. In the continental part was 111,4, in Açores it was 102,8 and in Madeira 315,4. Looking at the two main cities in the country and their metropolitan area, it is possible to note the huge difference. Both of them are on the Coast. The Lisbon metropolitan area has a density of 956,4 people per square kilometer while Porto has 860,2. If, in comparison, we take areas in the non-coastal region, these numbers suffer a considerable reduction: in Alto Alentejo, the population density is 17,3, in the Alentejo Central is 20,8, and in the Baixo Alentejo is 13,5[81].

This can be explained by the type of economy in the Alentejo region. It is mostly

---

[78] The World Bank. Urban population - European Union, Portugal. Available at: https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.URB.TOTL?end=2018&locations=EU-PT&name_desc=false&start=2017. Last visited: 25 JUL 2023

[79] ibiden

[80] Data retrieved from Eurostat. Demographic indicator: Population on 1 January by broad age group, sex and other typologies - URT_PJANAGGR3__custom_7008222. Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/URT_PJANAGGR3__custom_7008222/default/table?lang=en. Last visited: 25 JUL 2023

[81] INE - Instituto Nacional de Estatísicas. Demographic Indicator: Population´s density (No./ km²) by Place of residence (NUTS - 2013); Annual . Available at: https://www.ine.pt/xportal/xmain?xpid=INE&xpgid=ine_indicadores&indOcorrCod=0008337&contexto=pi&selTab=tab0&xlang=en. Last visited: 25 JUL 2023

a rural area that depends on agricultural products, such as wine and olive oil, and there are not many industries. In 2021, the region was responsible for 28%[82] of the wine production and 80% of the national olive oil production[83], the last one worth saying was around 230 million litres. Meanwhile, the industries in the region represent just 6,8%[84] of the national total.

From that, we can note an uneven distribution of the population in the country and that the majority are gathered on the Coast.

1.2.6 Education

The population, in general, has at least one level of formal education. The Portuguese education system is divided into a preschool stage, basic education, secondary education, and then post-secondary or superior education.

The preschool level is for children from 3 years of age until the age to get into the basic education. This first level is not mandatory, but is recommended. The following level is the basic education that covers children from 6 years until 15, and the level is mandatory in the country. After 15, people go to secondary education which provides three more years of school and it is also mandatory. People usually stay from 15 to 18. From there, they can go to a post-secondary (a professional qualification) school of usually 1 year long or to the superior degree[85].

Information gathered by the Census 2021 shows that 5,86% of the residents (older than 15 years of age) did not have any level of education completed. The lowest percentage was in the population of the metropolitan area of Lisbon (4,27%) and the highest percentage was in Alentejo (8,54%), followed by Madeira (8,05%)[86].

---

[82] INE - Instituto Nacional de Estatísicas. Demographic Indicator: Wine production declared in grape must (hl) by producers by Vinification location (NUTS - 2013) and Quality and color of wine (New regulation); Annual. Available at: https://www.ine.pt/xportal/xmain?xpid=INE&xpgid=ine_indicadores&indOcorrCod=0008236&contexto=pi&selTab=tab0&xlang=en. Last visited: 25 JUL 2023

[83] INE - Instituto Nacional de Estatísicas. Demographic Indicator: Olive oil produced (hl) by Geographic localization (Agrarian region), Type of oil press unit, Degree of acidity and Type of extraction system; Annual. Available at: https://www.ine.pt/xportal/xmain?xpid=INE&xpgid=ine_indicadores&indOcorrCod=0000709&contexto=pi&selTab=tab0&xlang=en. Last visited: 25 JUL 2023

[84] Data retrieved from INE - Instituto Nacional de Estatísicas. Demographic Indicator: Enterprises (No.) by Geographic localization (NUTS - 2013) and Economic activity (Subclass - CAE Rev. 3); Annual. Available at: https://www.ine.pt/xportal/xmain?xpid=INE&xpgid=ine_indicadores&indOcorrCod=0008466&contexto=pi&selTab=tab0&xlang=en. Last visited: 25 JUL 2023

[85] European Commission. Eurydice - Portugal. Available at: https://eurydice.eacea.ec.europa.eu/pt-pt/national-education-systems/portugal/portugal#:~:text=7%20%E2%80%93%20Mestrado).-,Etapas%20do%20sistema%20de%20ensino,aos%2018%20anos%20de%20idade).. Last visited: 27 JUL 2023.

[86] Data retrieved from INE - Instituto Nacional de Estatísicas. Demographic Indicator: Proportion of resident population with 15 and more years old without any level of education completed (%) by Place of residence

In that category (not having any level of education completed), the amount of women who are less educated is higher, since 7,25% of women versus 4,30% men did not complete the level of education. By gender, the lowest level is still in the metropolitan area of Lisbon (3,06% men and 5,31% of women) and the highest changes: the highest percentage of men non-educated are in Algarve (7,07%) and women are in Alentejo (10,46%).

Alentejo is also the second region with the highest fertility rate. The two first regions where the fertility rate is highest are Algarve (1,61) and Alentejo (1,52). As it was mentioned, the regions in the country where there are more women without any level of education are Alentejo (10,46%), Madeira (9,26%), followed by Algarve (8,64). In Madeira, in contrast, the fertility rate is one of the lowest (1,23).

Therefore, if we look at just the two regions that appear in both indicators (Alentejo e Algarve), we might say that the fertility rate has a strong dependence on the level of education of women. However, the region of Madeira shows different, as well as the region North, which has the lowest fertility rate (1,2) but it is the third position bottom to top (7,13%) of the indicator of less educated women.

In spite of the data above presented, the individuals who completed the superior level of education are mostly women. The pattern repeats for those who complete secondary education, but in a smaller percentage. The post-secondary level, which is mostly a professional qualification, however, has a favor for men.

If we look at the group whose highest level of education completed is the superior degree, 1.070.106 are women which represents 60% of the total (1.782.888). In secondary education, women are also the majority but not by far, the difference is 31.126 in their advantage[87]. Of those who have completed post-secondary education and have it as their higher level of education degree, 57,54% are men of a total of 103.820.

At the date of the 2021 Census, there were 391.517 unemployed residents. Of those who had completed the superior education as their highest level of education and were unemployed (71.435 as total), 62,48% were women[88].

at Census date [2021] (NUTS - 2013) and Sex; Decennial https://www.ine.pt/xportal/xmain?xpid=INE&xpgid=ine_indicadores&indOcorrCod=0011656&contexto=bd&selTab=tab2&xlang=pt. Last visited: 27 JUL 2023.

[87] Data retrieved from INE - Instituto Nacional de Estatísicas. Demographic Indicator: Resident population (No.) by Place of residence at Census date [2021] (NUTS - 2013), Sex, Age group and Highest completed level of education; Decennial. Available at: https://www.ine.pt/xportal/xmain?xpid=INE&xpgid=ine_indicadores&indOcorrCod=0011697&contexto=bd&selTab=tab2. Last visited: 27 JUL 2023

[88] Data retrieved from INE - Instituto Nacional de Estatísicas. Demographic Indicator: Unemployed population (No.) by Place of residence at Census date [2021] (NUTS - 2013), Sex, Age group and Highest completed level of education; Decennial. Available at: https://www.ine.pt/xportal/xmain?xpid=INE&xpgid=ine_indicadores&indOcorrCod=0011700&contexto=bd&

The observation of those data shows that the most difficult part of the education path is for women to finish the basic education, after completing the basic cycle, women keep their education journey better than men, being the majority in the secondary and superior level. At the same time, they were also the majority who held a superior degree and were unemployed.

1.3 Concluding the Portugal Demography

The chapter presented the profile of the Portuguese population and the elements that are involved in it.

Most of the residents are on the coast, living in urban areas. The majority of the population is female, yet the mean difference is not significant in the first analysis. If we look at the birth age, though, males would be the majority while at the end of life, the female population is much higher.

As it was highlighted, the country is facing an unsteady increase in the fertility rate (there is no pattern between the years) at the same time that the number of births is going down. The natural increase of the population has not been enough, so the country depends on migration to have positive growth.

About education, the population, in general, has at least one level of formal education completed. According to the 2021 Census, just 5,86% of the population older than 15 did not have any level of education, the age around which they would have to finish the first level of mandatory education. Of that amount, more than half are women. On the other hand, of those who completed the superior degree, 60% are women.

Out of the total population, 13,43% are really young (0-14), followed by 10,68% in the group aged 15-24. The elderly (65+), however, are responsible for 22,43% of the population (they are 6,6% over 80), showing again the composition of the population as an aged one.

The life expectancy has been increasing, apart from 2020, and in 2021 was 81,5, with a female advantage of expectancy at 84,4 (against 78,5 for males). The old-age dependency ratio kept increasing and reached 38 in 2022. Projections say that in 2050 will be 62,8, the year that the median age of the population will be 51,2 (an increase of 5,7 in 30 years).

The dependency put into the working population also increased in the last decade and it was 57,9 in 2021, including both the old-age and young dependency.

It is evident that the country needs an improvement in the working force, either to

selTab=tab2&xlang=en. Last visited: 27 JUL 2023.

support the elderly or the youth. The provision for the future is not so bright, meaning that the tendency is an increase in the total dependency ratio, so every measure to increment the workforce should be welcome.

From now on, it is worth seeing how the migration dynamic participates in the Portugal population.

CHAPTER 2 - Migration in Portugal

There are a lot of reasons why people migrate and, if they are leaving in a peaceful context, there are also a great number of factors that should be considered in the process of deciding the destination country. Sometimes people do not have this possibility at all and at other times, they do have it, even in a chaotic environment. Sharing a language or having similarities with the culture can be decisive elements in picking a country, as well as the ease of coming and going to and from your home country, having someone there you already know, or having a higher purchasing power compared to where you earn the money.

For those reasons, it is important to understand the historical background of the country and its financial and economic situation in order to better understand why it is receiving or letting go of a lot of people and the reasons behind it.

As previously presented, Portugal is a country with a population of 10.421.117 people in 2021, which only faced a positive growth in that year due to migration. The natural increase of the country in 2021 was -0,44% (so a negative change), while the crude migration rate was 0,69%, which caused a positive impact on the total growth. The majority of the population is female (52,3% in 2021) and lives in urban areas near the Coast, which can relate to the country's history.

Besides, we can fairly point out that the population is aging. The old-age dependency ratio (relation between the population over 65 and the working age population of 15-64) was 37,3 in 2021, and the elderly (over 60 years) were 29% of the population. The median age of the total population was 45,8, and the mean life expectancy in the country was 81,5 years in 2021, considering the female expectancy was 84,4 years, and the male 78,5 years.

2.1 Portuguese Background

In size, Portugal has the 16° largest surface in the European Union, with the 16° largest population (Eurostat, 2022). Its GDP (Gross Domestic Product) was 23,9bi in 2022, the 12° lowest in the European Union[89]. The GDP-per capita, however, was 19.290€[90], which brought the country into a central position (18°) among the European Union's countries, and might be a measure that highlights the difference among them.

[89] Data retrieved from EuroStat. Demographic indicator: Gross domestic product (GDP) at market prices - annual data. Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/TIPSAU10/default/table?lang=en&category=tips.tipsgd. Last visited: 04 AUG 2023

[90] Data retrieved from EuroStat. Demographic indicator: Real GDP per capita. Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/sdg_08_10/default/table. Last visited: 04 AUG 2023

The GDP per capita in the block was 28.840€, and 31 850€ in the Euro Area.

In 2022, the unemployment rate in the country was 6,0%, a bit smaller than the ratio for the mean in the EU (6,2%)[91] and the general Government gross debt[92], understood as the government debt over the gross domestic product at the end of the year, was 113,9%, one of the highest in the EU, however decreasing compared to the last two years.

The economy in Portugal is divided into the three main structures but the division is not even. The primary sector is mainly sustained by the production of grapes (turned, consumed, and exported as wine), tomato paste and cork. According to the Trade Map (2023), an informative website, Portugal was alone responsible for 60% of the total worldwide exportation of cork in 2021. The fishing industry is also important in the country, considering its geographical position (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2020).

According to INE, in 2021 the country hosted a total of 1.342.116 industries (184.168 born that year[93]), of which around 78% was composed of commerce, retail, and services, 10% of industries relating to the primary sector, and 12% industries of the second sector[94].

The tertiary sector is the strongest element in the economy and tourism plays an important role and contributes positively to the national and local economy, being responsible for 18,9% of the total employment (in 2022)[95] and 8,9% of the total GVA (Gross Value Added) in the country.[96]

Back a couple of centuries, Portugal had a few colonies spread around the world. The first to obtain independence was Brazil, in 1822, which led Portugal to focus on its

[91] Data retrieved from EuroStat. Demographic indicator: Total unemployment rate. Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/TPS00203__custom_2026003/bookmark/table?lang=en&bookmarkId=965d44d8-4caf-4d87-9347-2eb71a8a93db. Last visited: 04 AUG 2023

[92] Data retrieved from EuroStat. Demographic indicator: General government gross debt. Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/SDG_17_40__custom_2193722/bookmark/table?lang=en&bookmarkId=fef0c906-5609-4e2c-9a0f-692e93535757. Last visited: 04 AUG 2023

[93] Data retrieved from INE - Instituto Nacional de estatísticas. Demographic Indicator: Births (No.) of Enterprises by Geographic localization (NUTS - 2013) and Economic activity (Division - CAE Rev. 3); Annual (3). Available at: https://www.ine.pt/xportal/xmain?xpid=INE&xpgid=ine_indicadores&indOcorrCod=0008642&contexto=bd&selTab=tab2&xlang=en. Last visited: 05 AUG 2023

[94] Data retrieved from INE - Instituto Nacional de estatísticas. Demographic Indicator: Enterprises (No.) by Geographic localization (NUTS - 2013) and Economic activity (Subclass - CAE Rev. 3); Annual (3). Available at: https://www.ine.pt/xportal/xmain?xpid=INE&xpgid=ine_indicadores&indOcorrCod=0008466&contexto=bd&selTab=tab2&xlang=en. Last visited: 05 AUG 2023

[95] UNWTO - World Tourism Organization. TOURISM DATA AND MATCHING PRIORITIES - PORTUGAL. Available at: https://www.unwto.org/europe/portugal. Last visited: 04 AUG 2023

[96] Data retrieved from INE - Instituto Nacional de estatísticas. Demographic Indicator: GVA generated by tourism as a proportion of total GVA (Base 2016 - %); Annual. Available at: https://www.ine.pt/xportal/xmain?xpid=INE&xpgid=ine_indicadores&indOcorrCod=0009965&contexto=bd&selTab=tab2&xlang=en. Last visited: 05 AUG 2023

African colonies. All of them started their independence process in the 1970s, following an auto-determination law passed in Portugal.

Between the years of 1932 and 1974, Portugal faced an authoritarian regime with a poor economy. In that period, many democratic institutions were closed and there was a flux of people leaving the country for the colonies and Brazil. The dictatorship ended, and democracy was reestablished with the Revolution of Carnations on April 25th 1974. Following this process, it was established a new Constitution and democratic laws. At this moment, Portugal recognized the freedom and independence of the African colonies that had already started movements towards independence.

Part of the Portuguese who were in the African colonies went there incentivized by the Government in a attempt to reduce or retard their independence and ensure the survival of colonialism. For that, the plan was to increase the settlement of Portuguese in the colonies, creating an identity and cultural link with the metropolis, apart from establishing a greater control on the population. That emigration was marked by medium and high-skilled professionals (Pires et al., 2020)

Naturally, along with the independence and Portugal's democratization, there was a flow back to Europe, since it was no longer necessary to maintain colonial control and proximity. Not only that, with the end of the authoritarian regime, many Portuguese who were exiled in over-sea territories (including Brazil), or absent due to precarious living conditions in the country, were able to return to Portugal.

It is estimated there were half million Portuguese in this position, who after returning to the country were part of a group called *Retornados* (returnees). The traumatic experience they faced when returning to Portugal created a collective identity. Their return to the country happened mostly in less than a year of the colonies independence. This rapid repatriation was due to the institutional rupture in the colonies, that was in denial of democracy, the feeling of insecurity, and the lack of voice and loyalty. The problem is that when they arrived in Portugal, they were immersed in a society that was also changing. Apart from this, at first they dealt with some reactions of those who saw them as "outsiders". Afterwards, they were assimilated into the society, especially by the link they still had with non-retornados and the need the country started to have, with the economy development, of skilled professionals (Pires et al., 2020).

This colonial past meant that several countries have Portuguese as their official language, and share a few other similarities, which led them to form a community for international cooperation, in areas such as education, health, science and technology. The CPLP - *Comunidade dos Países de Língua Portuguesa* (in English: Community of

Portuguese Language Countries) was created in 1996 and nowadays is formed by Angola, Brazil, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, Guinea-Ecuatorial, Mozambique, Portugal, São Tomé and Príncipe, and Timor East (CPLP, 2023)[97]. For the sake of cooperation, there are some facilitated visa processes in Portugal for nationals of the CPLP countries or scholarships exclusively for nationals of these countries.

In recent history, Portugal faced a severe economic and political crisis. Reis (2013) explains a few factors that justify the weakness of the Portuguese economy in the pre-crisis period (2000-2007): low average education due to the lack of investment in the area during the dictatorship period; the low factor productivity; the increase of Government size with extensive hire in public sector; rigid labor market with high firing costs; inefficient legal system; inability to compete in trade markets globally due to specialization in low-value good, besides the increasing of taxes and the cost to maintain the old-age pensions.

Along with that, there was a worldwide recession and the public expenses were increasing in a welfare State. The country tried to postpone the decision to ask for a loan, until reaching the point in April 2011 when the country applied for a bailout program and negotiated with the European Commission, European Central Bank, and International Monetary Fund, receiving 78 billion euros. The program of adjustments lasted 3 years (until June 2014) and imposed a few austerity measures on the country and its population, aimed at economic growth and creation of jobs, and reduction of public debt (European Commission, 2023). It was not enough to avoid the population moving out, as can be seen in the emigration rate in the period, which will be further discussed.

After the bailout program, besides having a huge debt to pay and a still live crisis to manage, the economy started to recover, especially after many investments in tourism and services, and a focus on exporting products.

Yet, Portugal is not one of the strongest economies in the EU. However, from a non-European point of view, it still seems a good place to migrate considering the living conditions, employment, and social benefits, especially if you come from a CPLP country.

2.2 Migration Dynamics - Inflows and Outflows

As it was briefly mentioned before, many are the reasons why people migrate internationally. They can cover a range of reasons, such as the hope of a better job, health and study opportunities, and living conditions, leaving a context of political and

---

[97] Only available in Portuguese

social instability, family reunification, environmental crisis, or the willingness to a quiet and affordable place to enjoy retirement.

There is a lot of discussion about migration theory and some authors categorized them according to the reason why people migrate, as it will be further presented. According to Haas (2021), not having a central body of theories on migration is a problem for research on the field, and many researchers defend the lack of a universal migration theory on the fact that migration is a highly complex and diverse phenomenon. For him, this argument is not so much convincing because exactly why we are dealing with a social movement, that has to be understood in accordance with its historical and social context, it is illusory to think that a social theory would develop a universal explanation. Besides, the fact that something is complex should never be a reason to give up to understand a social phenomenon.

Following the author's idea, migration is a social process and so it should be seen and studied as part of all processes of changes, in which it is a constituent part, and never be seen as an isolated phenomenon. Therefore, migration should be considered as a normal process and not a solution to problems such as poverty or lack of labor force. If this were true, reducing poverty or economic gaps in sending countries would necessarily reduce migration (Haas, 2021). What he means is that in the study of migration, we have to see the big picture and analyze other elements involved, having in mind it is a social process and not an isolated phenomenon. And so, theories that look just to push and pull factors would not cover all this complexity. The fact that people do not migrate exclusively because their economic situation, in the sense that not all the migrants are fleeing poverty, is another element that shows us that we cannot consider this motivation as the exclusive one, or defend just one point of view when dealing with migration studies.

The author also says that recent theories have been focusing on studying the experience and identity of migrants, by a mathematical point of view, and so a systematic theorization of migration processes has not been the priority anymore. In this scenario, the lack of a systematic view of migration can be a problem to study or understand structural factors that shape migration or to explain the diversity that different groups (based on gender or ethnicity) face when they are migrating.

Samers and Collyer (2017) present that many migration theories have been developed with different approaches, and in spite of existing distinctions between theories, often the limits of those distinctions are not so clear, since in practice many of them overlap. They present, for example, theories that aim to explain the initial phase or

the creation of a particular migration, while others aim to explain the subsequent phases. Other distinctions would separate theories between determinist (those that determine migration behavior and its patterns) and integrative theories (those that bring together theoretical and conceptual ideas), and others that would be explanatory or critical. Among those theories, they present the classical push-pull theory, behaviorist approaches, new economics approaches, those based on transnational arguments or social networks, and some more. The fact is that might be difficult to fit such a lively phenomenon in rigid theories without any overlapping.

Here, it will be presented migration approaches that consider the motivation that people have to migrate.

Labor migration is understood as the movement of people who migrate for income-bringing activities, which could be employment or entrepreneurship (Oso et al., 2022). According to those authors (Oso et al., 2022), the number of high-skilled professionals - known as those who have a university degree or many years of professional experience - has increased, mostly, for two simple reasons: nowadays there are more people who hold a university degree and it is a natural aspiration of them to get a better job, together with the lack of opportunities in the home country. The low-skilled workers, however, are left aside in some categories that share low income, precarious employment regimes, and temporariness, in sectors such as construction, agriculture, domestic and care work, and prostitution.

In the category that McGarrigle (2022) called lifestyle migration, we can insert the migration motivated by an increase in living conditions during retirement. These movements can be observed as the baby boomer generation is getting older and, after accumulating wealth and saving in developed economies, they relocate to a peripheral country searching for a better quality of life (McGarrigle, 2022). In a broad view, all migrants are looking for an improvement in living conditions and a better quality of life. What differs in this specific category is the ease with which they can move, for holding advantages such as citizenship and financial capital.

Another common movement that exists within the migration scenario is the mobility to studies purpose. Alves and King (2022) explain that regarding students, the term mobility and migration is often misused, since hardly a student is seen as a migrant, especially in the European context in which the Erasmus exchange plays an important role in students taking a semester abroad and moving within the block. For students from outside the EU or those who take the whole degree abroad, they are more likely to be recognized as student migrants. The latter is often encouraged to stay in the host country

and enter its labor market, switching the student visa to a work one.

Some considered work as the primary factor for migration, either for working as a high-skilled or low-wage professional or for the drive to start a business (Vallejo, 2015). Others can argue that more important than that, is employment or job security (Duszczyk and Matuszczyk, 2019), understood as the security that, even when you lose your job, you will find another, much so you do not have to be desperate about it or, in the last case, you are secure to keep your job as long as you want due to the law or labor structure in that specific country. Either way, labor-related aspects can be both pull and push factors in the decision-making process on whether to migrate and where to. In addition to security, the comparison of income in home and host countries also is assumed to be decisive in this process (Faini and Venturi, 2010).

About the labor mobility of migrants, Pereira et al (2010) present two approaches. The first, it is considered the value of human capital in the job market and it is explained that during migration, this value is reduced for the lack of language fluency, or the impression that employers have about the lower quality of education in the home country. Because of this, there is a loss of human capital when the moving happens, which requires the migrant to downgrade in the job market, at least in the beginning. After being immersed in the market, learning the language, and showing adaptation and integration, there is a natural success and a consequent increase in wages - that eventually surpasses the natives'.

The second approach defends that migrants remain at low-wage jobs for a reduction in opportunities that lead them to a second category in the job market. Following this idea, migrants would be concentrated in jobs positions that require more physical effort, and more adaptability considering worse working conditions and are considered less prestigious by natives and old migrants. Being inserted in that category and the maintenance in it due to the need for income, creates a civic stratification in which the professional downgrade that would first be temporary, becomes permanent.

Perhaps, nowadays, those approaches would lack to explain the movement of those who migrate without the need for downgrade, considering all the public policies created to attract and maintain high-skilled professionals, evidenced in international hiring, in a need to fulfill job vacancies and enlarging the labor market, or because they are coming from a market or university that are already considered trustful.

In the case of Europe, there is a strong interest coming from countries to incentivize and retain labor migrants, considering all the demographic indicators showing a shortage in that field (Kornstad, 2017). The population, however, is mostly against

migration because people, without any justification, are afraid the migrants will take their jobs, creating a widespread public resistance against immigrants (Muenstermann, 2017). Hence the importance of having network support.

Of course, the policies differ according to whom they are focused. The policies focus on high-skilled professionals, however, see them as contributors to promote innovations and increase economic growth, besides having a higher potential to integrate (Oso et al., 2022).

Even when the person does not have a structured and organized plan for their migration, it might be assumed that s/he knows a little about why people go to (or leave from) that specific country, or the struggles that they may face in the new place, especially because nowadays the information on the theme is spread not only on the internet but also on the social networks built among those who share this goal and are incentivized by it. This same network can be used for the migrant getting the first job just after the arrival or to get a better one once already in the country, or even for getting assistance relating to houses, credits, and basic needs items. The connection among people can often be used to stimulate the movement. This led to a tendency of migrants to go to the same location as their network colleagues.

In Portugal, for instance, we can see that phenomenon in the case of the British presence in the Algarve or the concentration of Brazilians in Braga (a city in the North region). The possibility of living in a similar cultural environment as well as consuming the same ethnic - or national - goods as your companions and neighbors reduce the monetary and psychic costs of migrating (Epstein, 2010), even when the movement is done by free choice and to enjoy better opportunities.

Epstein (2010) calls herd behavior the movement of people who, without considering all the elements of a place, just follow others on a specific migratory journey. According to him, people are not acting like this because they want to rely on a network already created in that area, in which they would have the feeling of being part of a community that links them to their origins, or in which they would feel safe in the sense of going to a place where someone could help them with their daily struggles or finding a job. Rather, according to him, acting in herd behavior, people move to some specific location just because their similars did so, and then, they presume those people had better information and knew what they were doing. It is a belief that it is impossible that so many people would be wrong. Of course, the network is still important, but the herd behavior would be motivated just by following someone else's movements. Besides, moving to a place where there is an already established community allows people not to

think or search much about the process. On top of that, problems of language would be alleviated, since there will be someone there to help.

Samers and Collyer (2017), following the same idea, explain that social networks not only help with financial and general resources, but also influence the settlement and continuation of the migration of those arriving. They also suggest that the migrants who arrive later in a community where a network was already established by former immigrants, would have fewer costs and risks in the process, considering they have the network to rely on, which would lead to an increase in migration.

The decision to migrate, however, is still individual: whether to migrate or not and the manners to do it. Independently of being an individual behavior or based on a broader collective action, the decision is highly dependent on the context, which means that apart from the drivers who lead people to decide on migrating, the decision is specific and is always affected by the time and space in which it was taken (Czaika and Reinprecht, 2022).

Even saying is an individual decision, it often is taken at the family level. This is due to the motivations behind the decision to migrate and how it would be done. Some families might decide that the man would migrate, facing the whole journey alone, and then constantly send his income back home to provide a better situation for the family. Some might decide that, considering the dangers of staying in their country, or the poverty and undesirable work situation they are living in, the whole family should go (Samers and Collyer, 2017). There is also the case that some member of the family goes first and then, after a good settlement, the family goes after he/she through family reunification. Lastly, some individuals who do not have a family for their own (in a sense of spouses and children), might decide to migrate to sustain their parents, grandparents and siblings who stayed.

As an illustration of the concentration of the same nationality in a specific destination country and the importance of a network, or following it, on migration, it will be further presented the emigration of Portuguese nationals to Luxembourg, the United Kingdom, Switzerland, France, Spain, and Germany and the immigration of Brazilians, British, and Cape Verdeans to Portugal.

2.3 Emigration

In a typical scenario, international migrants leave their country looking for better living and working conditions. In this sense, for a simple economic reason, the more rapid development or the better the economy in the sending country, the less the reason for

people emigrating (Faini and Venturi, 2010). The opposite is also true, in the sense that the worse or unstable the economy of the sending country, the easier to leave it.

Dealing with European countries and their nationals (who naturally hold European citizenship), those who decide to emigrate are not affected by all the bureaucratic limitations that muddle non-European nationals who want to do the same. Carrying a European nationality shortens and eases the way to move to another country in the Community. In this sense, the simplest way for Portuguese to move abroad is to go to another European country. It is even possible to say the movement is incentivized, in terms of keeping integration, and demonstrating core European values: freedom of people and services.

Portugal strengthened its participation and integration in the European migration scene in 2005, when together with the increase in the number of emigrants, the nationals also enjoyed a more diverse range of destination countries (Marques and Gois, 2014), going to countries where the Portuguese's presence was not expressive until then.

According to the UN, in 2020 the Portuguese emigrant's stock was 2.081.419[98], meaning this great amount of Portuguese were living around the world, outside Portugal. Just in 2022, INE says that 30.954 people left the country as permanent migrants[99]. The major part of the flux is made within the European Union to countries such as Spain, France, and Germany, with a still expressive number of people going to Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg. Outside the EU, the most Portuguese-receiving countries are the United Kingdom, and Switzerland, but we can also mention the overseas presence in Angola and Brazil.

As can be seen in the graph below (Figure 6), in the past fifteen years, the peak of people leaving the country for a period longer than a year coincides with the increase in the unemployment rate. As it was mentioned before, in the period between 2010 and 2014, Portugal faced a severe economic crisis and had to engage in a lot of austerity measures that included a reduction in the welfare State, which involved an alteration in working conditions such as a decrease in workers protections, increase in the working

---

[98] United Nations - Population Division. Data: International Migrant Stock 2020: Destination and origin. Available at: https://www.un.org/development/desa/pd/content/international-migrant-stock. Last visited: 14 AUG 2023

[99] Data retrieved from: INE - Instituto Nacional de estatísticas. Demographic Indicator: Permanent emigrants (No.) by Sex; Annual. Available at: https://www.ine.pt/xportal/xmain?xpid=INE&xpgid=ine_indicadores&indOcorrCod=0006050&contexto=bd&selTab=tab2&xlang=en. Last visited: 07 AUG 2023

hours per week and, not to say, the explosion in the unemployment rate.

Figure 6: Relation between emigration and unemployment in Portugal (2008-2022)
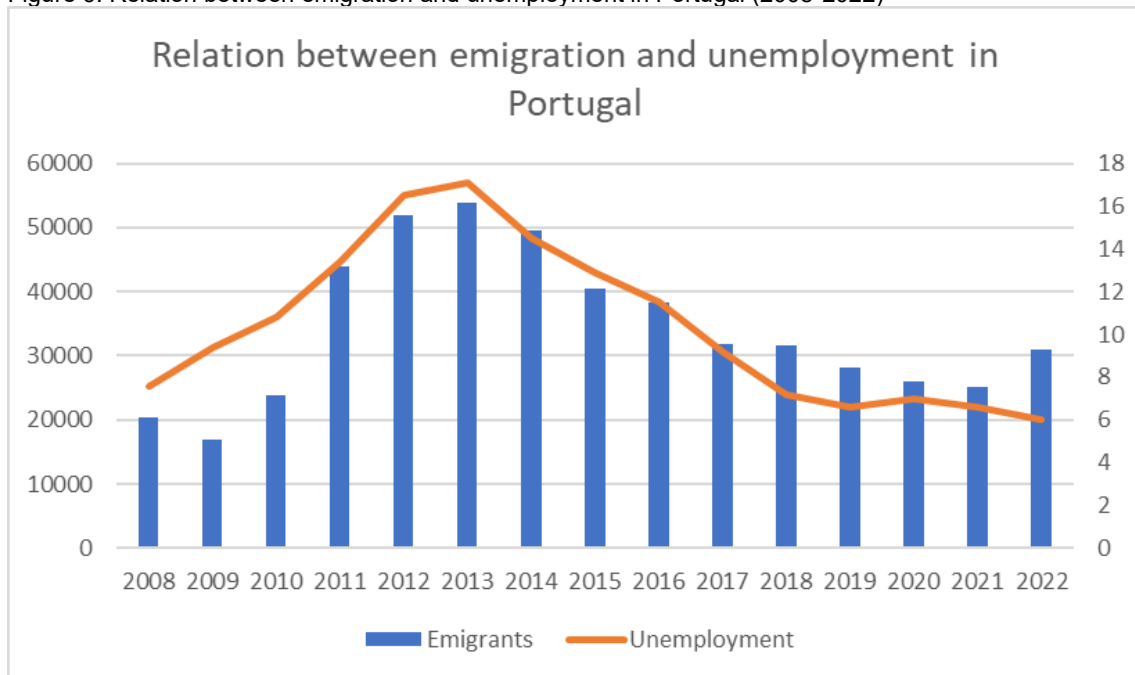
Source: INE[100]. Processed by the author.

One of the most important drives to migrate is the economy and the desire to be immersed in a society that provides better working and living conditions, which might be achieved through higher wages, the existence of social benefits, lack of concern about job stability or of a sudden change in what is considered normal life. During a financial crisis that, naturally, brings a frame of instability, those elements are missing and people get more willing to move, especially if they do not see improvements in the near future.

Surely, that is not the only reason why people migrate. Otherwise, once the country had its economy recovered, the migration flow would drought. Besides, looking at the pull and push theory considering just economic factors, we see the theory does not sustain the variety of fluxes that happens in the present times. Some authors criticize this last theory saying many more elements are involved in the migration process and the route chosen by every migrant (Haas, 2021), and if we consider just the economic

---

[100] Data retrieved from: INE - Instituto Nacional de Estatísticas. Demographic Indicator: Unemployment rate (Series 2021 - %) by Place of residence (NUTS - 2013) and Age group; Annual. Available at: https://www.ine.pt/xportal/xmain?xpid=INE&xpgid=ine_indicadores&indOcorrCod=0011305&contexto=bd&selTab=tab2&xlang=en; Demographic Indicator: Permanent emigrants (No.) by Sex; Annual. Available at: https://www.ine.pt/xportal/xmain?xpid=INE&xpgid=ine_indicadores&indOcorrCod=0006050&contexto=bd&selTab=tab2&xlang=en; Demographic Indicator: Unemployment rate (Series 1998 - %) by Place of residence (NUTS - 2002) and Sex; Annual (1). Available at: https://www.ine.pt/xportal/xmain?xpid=INE&xpgid=ine_indicadores&indOcorrCod=0000650&contexto=bd&selTab=tab2&xlang=en. Last visited: 07 AUG 2023

situation of the sending and receiving country, there would be, as an example given by Samers and Collyer (2017), a high flux between Sudan and Luxembourg (from a really bad to a really good economy).

The graph above (Figure 6) shows data about permanent emigrants, in other words, those who left with the intention to be gone longer. That demonstrates they did not see a short-term solution for the country and then decided to leave. If the graph showed the total number of emigrants, the numbers would be much higher.

Therefore, the graph presents a movement that is expected during a crisis and it is not an exclusive phenomenon of Portugal. The emigration movement depends not only on the home country's economy but also on the attractiveness of the destination country, as it was already mentioned. So what may be considered new in this moment is the fact that, during that period, there was a widespread crisis in Europe, so the countries that were traditionally receivers of Portuguese were decreasing their importance in the emigration stats (e.g. Spain), at the same time that Portuguese were broadening their options and creating new favorites destinations (e.g. Germany) (Marques and Gois, 2014).

It should be highlighted, as an important distinction during the data presentation by the INE, the existence of temporary and permanent emigrants. The difference between temporary and permanent emigration relies on the period they intend to be out of the country. Both definitions are not restricted to Portuguese nationals, since it covers nationals or foreigners who had remained in the country for a whole year before leaving it. Temporary are those who leave with the intention to live abroad for less than a year, while permanent are those who leave with the intention to stay out for a period longer than a year (INE, 2023). Therefore we notice that this number covers more than just Portuguese, but all people who were in Portugal for a whole year and left.

In 2013, the unemployment rate in Portugal reached 17.1% of the working-age population. The rate of young unemployed (gap from 16 to 24 years of age) was even higher: 38.3%![101] That is a great incentive to migrate, especially due to the bureaucratic ease of doing it and a way to send money back home.

The year 2013 can be considered the peak of the unemployment crisis, considering that in 2012 the total rate was 16.5% and from 2014 (the total rate of

---

[101] Data retrieved from: INE - Instituto Nacional de Estatísticas. Demographic Indicator: Unemployment rate (Series 2021 - %) by Place of residence (NUTS - 2013) and Age group; Annual. Available at: https://www.ine.pt/xportal/xmain?xpid=INE&xpgid=ine_indicadores&indOcorrCod=0011305&contexto=bd&selTab=tab2&xlang=en. Last visited: 07 AUG 2023

unemployment was 14.5%) the number started to get better.

Not coincidentally, the year with more permanent emigrants was also 2013 (Figure 7): 53.786, being 35.632 (66,25%) men and 18.154 (33,75%) women. In every single year - from those available at INE (2008 - 2022), there was a majority of men migrating. From 2008 to 2010, it is possible to see a major difference between the genders - 80% of those who migrated were men, while the lower difference happened in 2019, when 57,37% of emigrants were male.[102]

Figure 7: Total, temporary and permanent emigrants from Portugal (2011-2021)
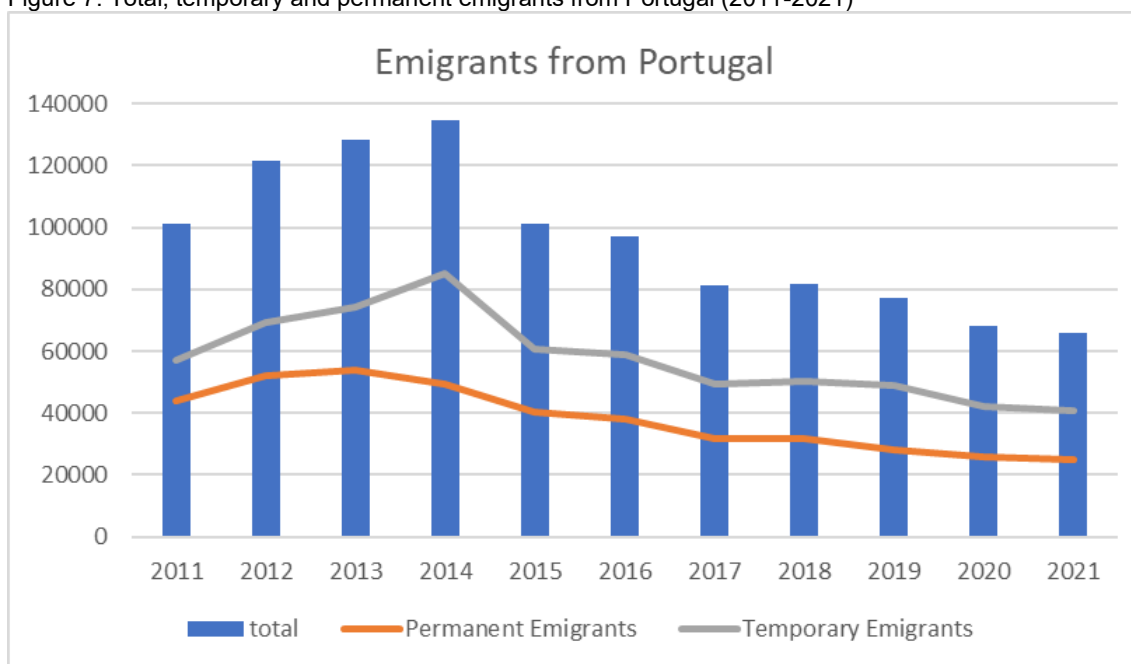
Source: INE (Indicator: Temporary Emigrants; Permanent Emigrants). Processed by the author.

That disparity might be explained by the different roles that men and women play within a society and the expectation that men should have a good job to earn more money, as well as some other factors, such as segregation in the labor market of the destination country, and prejudice women can face in deciding to migrate by herself - either in the home and host country.

Analyzing emigration by age group, in the whole period the category that has more people leaving the country permanently was the gap between 25-29, right followed by the 20-24 group age, which means that young people were leaving the country. In 2013, these two groups together represented 38,74% of the total population that

---

[102] Data retrieved from: INE - Instituto Nacional de estatísticas. Demographic Indicator: Permanent emigrants (No.) by Sex; Annual. Available at: https://www.ine.pt/xportal/xmain?xpid=INE&xpgid=ine_indicadores&indOcorrCod=0006050&contexto=bd&selTab=tab2&xlang=en. Last visited: 07 AUG 2023

emigrated permanently, followed by the group ages 30-34 (15,03) and 35-39 (10,89%)[103].

This aspect repeated over the years. The majority of emigrants are always within the age group 25-29, with a little advantage over the group 20-24, and then the groups 30-34 and 35-39. No need to say, all of them are within the working group age.

Another important feature is the level of education of those leaving permanently. From 2014 to 2021, it is possible to note an increase in emigrants with the superior level complete. In 2014, those who had the basic education as the highest level (considered the compulsory schooling, that goes usually from age 6 to age 18) were 53,5% of the total who left, and those who had the superior level were 29% (university level - the indicator named "higher" level of education). This frame was changing over time and in 2021, just 16,6% left with basic education as the highest level completed and 47,6% with superior education, which indicates that more qualified people are leaving the country. In spite of having a good increase between these two years, the rise was not constant, as in 2017, for example, the basic level was the education for 42,5% of the people and the superior was 28,7% - while in 2016 the superior was 40,5%. Either way, it is possible to affirm that over time there has been an increase in the leaving of qualified people[104].

Among the permanent emigrants, in spite of the definition including foreigners, the great majority was still Portuguese. From 2010 to 2021, the Portuguese represented more than 90% of the total. In 2013 they were 94,5% of those who left, followed by 96,15% in 2014 and 98,69% in 2015[105]. With the small representation of foreigners, there is no standardization of whether they are from the European Union or not.

What we can say, however, is that they were leaving to go to European countries. Until 2019, there was a loose majority heading to the European Union (labeled as EU-28). In 2019, from the total of 28.219 who left the country permanently, 21.973 (77,87%) moved within the EU. The ratio changed after Brexit and the difference between the migration to countries within the community got smaller: in 2020, 54,26% went to EU countries and in 2021, 51,45% of the permanent emigrants went to other EU countries,

---

[103] Data retrieved from: INE - Instituto Nacional de Estatísticas. Demographic Indicator: Permanent emigrants (No.) by Age; Annual. Available at: https://www.ine.pt/xportal/xmain?xpid=INE&xpgid=ine_indicadores&indOcorrCod=0006051&contexto=bd&selTab=tab2. Last visited: 11 AUG 2023

[104] Data retrieved from: Pordata - Portal de Dados Portugal Contemporâneo. Table: Permanent emigrants: total and by highest level of education completed (%). Available at: https://www.pordata.pt/en/db/portugal/search+environment/table. Last visited: 14 AUG 2023

[105] Data retrieved from: INE - Instituto Nacional de estatísticas. Demographic Indicator: Emigrantes permanentes (N.º) por Nacionalidade (Grupos de países); Anual Available at: https://www.ine.pt/xportal/xmain?xpid=INE&xpgid=ine_indicadores&indOcorrCod=0006052&contexto=bd&selTab=tab2&xlang=en. Last visited: 11 AUG 2023

which means that the emigration to the UK has an important representation in those numbers[106] (Figure 8).

Figure 8: Direction of Emigrants leaving Portugal, heading to European Union countries and non-European Union countries (2011 - 2021)
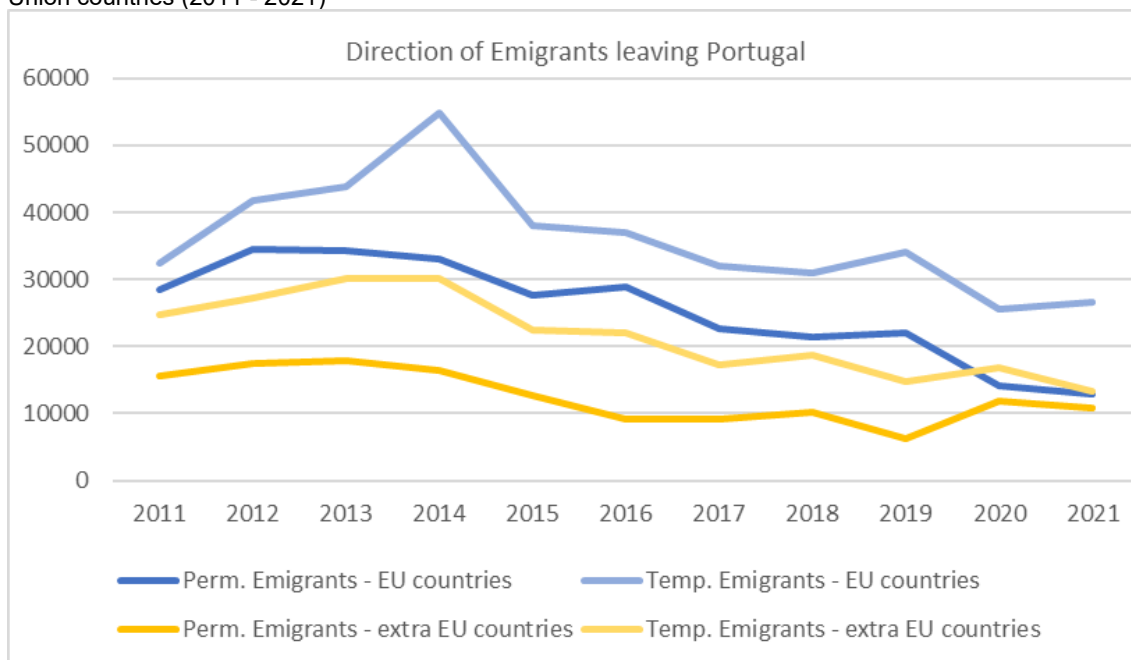
Source: INE (Indicator: Temporary Emigrants; Permanent Emigrants). Processed by the author.

By calculating the number of permanent migrants provided by INE in the EU-27 and EU-28 categories, it is possible to extract the number of people going to the UK. In 2013, one of the years of the emigration peak, among all emigrants, the percentage of those moving to the United Kingdom was 13,64%. However, that rate showed a notable increase in the following years: 20% in 2014, 25% in 2015, and reached 28% in 2016[107].

The number of temporary emigrants is higher than the permanent for the whole period (from 2011 to 2021), and both permanent and temporary had the lowest flux in 2021 (25.079 as permanent and 40.904 as temporary)[108], as is notable in Figure 7.

As it happened with permanent emigrants, the majority of people who were leaving the country temporarily were men. The highest variation was in 2012 (76,96% of those who left were men) and the smallest was in 2021 (53,30% were men). The age

---

[106] Data retrieved from: INE - Instituto Nacional de Estatísticas. Demographic Indicator: Emigrantes permanentes (N.º) por Local de residência futura (Grupos de países); Anual. Available at: https://www.ine.pt/xportal/xmain?xpid=INE&xpgid=ine_indicadores&indOcorrCod=0006053&contexto=bd&selTab=tab2. Last visited: 11 AUG 2023
[107] ibidem
[108] Data retrieved from: INE - Instituto Nacional de Estatísticas. Demographic Indicator: Temporary emigrants (No.) by Sex; Annual. Available at: https://www.ine.pt/xportal/xmain?xpid=INE&xpgid=ine_indicadores&indOcorrCod=0007302&contexto=bd&selTab=tab2. Last visited: 11 AUG 2023

group in which more individuals are within is the one from 20-24, followed by the groups of 25-29 and 40-44. The groups of 30-34, 35-39 and 45-49 compete among themselves for the next position, depending on the year[109].

Reaffirming what we previously discussed about the timing of people who decide to migrate, the years that most people migrated temporarily away from the country were 2013 (74.322) and 2014 (85.052), which brings the year 2014 as the year that most people moved out, as clearly is shown in Figure 7. By adding permanent and temporary migrants we would have 128.108 people leaving the country in 2013 and 134.624 leaving in 2014.

In those two years (2013 and 2014), the temporary emigrants were mostly going to European Union countries, as a repeated pattern seen before with the permanents. However, the number of temporary migrants going to countries outside the Community was much higher than those who decided to do it permanently in that specific period[110], as it is possible to seen in Figure 8. In the busiest years of emigration (2013 and 2014), 40,65% of people moved outside the EU in 2013 and 35,50% did the same in 2014, as temporary emigrants. If we are talking, however, about those going to EU countries, in 2013, 59% of the temporary emigrants, and 64,5% in 2014, went in that direction. The difference after Brexit does not highlight much contrast, since in 2020 those who went to one of the EU-27 countries were 60% and in 2021 was 65%. The number indicates, though, that in 2020, 12,82% of the temporary migrants moved to the UK.

Another time, the extreme majority of those who emigrated in the period available (2011 to 2021) were Portuguese nationals and not foreigners. The years with great difference were 2021 and 2018 when the foreigners represented 6,93% of the total and the year with the least difference was 2013 when the foreigners were just 2,55% of those who left.[111]

The number of temporary migrations can be tricky since in many cases the same person leaves the country (entering in a specific chosen one) for many consecutive years. In this case, there is no increase in the number of migrants doing the route but

---

[109] Data retrieved from: INE - Instituto Nacional de Estatísticas. Demographic Indicator: Temporary emigrants (No.) by Age group; Annual. Available at: https://www.ine.pt/xportal/xmain?xpid=INE&xpgid=ine_indicadores&indOcorrCod=0007303&contexto=bd&selTab=tab2. Last visited: 11 AUG 2023

[110] Data retrieved from: INE - Instituto Nacional de Estatísticas. Demographic Indicator: Emigrantes temporários (N.º) por Local de residência futura (Grupos de países); Anual. Available at: https://www.ine.pt/xportal/xmain?xpid=INE&xpgid=ine_indicadores&indOcorrCod=0007305&contexto=bd&selTab=tab2. Last visited: 11 AUG 2023

[111] Data retrieved from: INE - Instituto Nacional de Estatísticas. Demographic Indicator: Emigrantes temporários (N.º) por Nacionalidade (Grupos de países); Anual. Available at: https://www.ine.pt/xportal/xmain?xpid=INE&xpgid=ine_indicadores&indOcorrCod=0007304&contexto=bd&selTab=tab2. Last visited: 11 AUG 2023

just the same person doing it many times (Marques and Gois, 2014).

2.3.1 Portuguese destination countries

The United Nations Population Division (2020) estimated that in 2020 there was a stock of 2.081.419 migrants of Portuguese origin, which represented around 20% of the country's population at that year. This stock number might be shocking compared to the number of yearly emigrants. However, it is necessary to remember that Portugal is a country with a history of emigration and that it is quite common, as Lopes (2019) points out, that the "old" migrants are forgotten when we are discussing the topic, since the light is placed on what he calls "sexy" migrants, those who are young, educated, urban and cosmopolitan in contrast of the older one less educated, and "hands-on" workers.

The OECD (2023) database provides information about the fluxes and the stock of the Portuguese population in each country. In spite of not having information for the year 2021, analyzing the data about 2020 and 2019 it is possible to have an idea of the fluxes. Following this set, in 2020 the countries with a higher stock of Portuguese population (as Portugal as the country of birth) was France (614.174 people), followed by Switzerland (214.087), the United Kingdom (175.000), Germany (109.000) and Spain (103.904)[112].

The influx was different though. In that year (2020), the ranking of countries receiving Portuguese nationals was initiated by Switzerland (7.552), Germany (6.586), France (5.998), Spain (5.613), and Luxembourg (3.286). Important to highlight here that there is no information, in this database, about the influx to the United Kingdom in 2020, the reason why Switzerland might be the first, taking into account that since 2016 there has been a preference for the UK.[113]

According to the report published by the Observatory of Emigration (Pires, et. al. 2022)[114], the estimation is that the countries that received more Portuguese in 2021 (or the last period available) were the United Kingdom (around 12.000), Spain (8000), Switzerland (8.000), France (6.000), Germany (8.000) and Luxembourg (4.000). The order of countries by stock of Portuguese migrants, however, was different, considering the previous Portuguese inhabitants in there: France, Switzerland, the UK, and Spain.

Following the data provided by the report, there were living in France around

---

[112] Data retrieved from: OECD.Stat. International Migration Database - Stock of foreign-born population by country of birth. Available at: https://stats.oecd.org/Index.aspx?DataSetCode=MIG. Last visited: 14 AUG 2023
[113] Data retrieved from: OECD.Stat. International Migration Database - Inflow of foreign population by nationality. Available at: https://stats.oecd.org/Index.aspx?DataSetCode=MIG. Last visited: 14 AUG 2023
[114] Only available in Portuguese.

600.000 Portugueses, which made the country the first on the list of nationals residents. The next one on the list was Switzerland, with 207.000, the United States (162.000), the United Kingdom (156.000), Brazil (138.000 - but the data provided was not updated), Canada (134.000) and Germany (115.000).

After analyzing the difference in the ranking of countries in those indicators and detecting the position of both rankings (stock and flux), it is fair to say that countries where today live a great number of Portuguese nationals are not the same countries where the fluxes indicate that people are heading to. This means that there has been an increase in the set of destination countries that the Portuguese consider as an option, however, there still exists a movement in the direction of "traditionals" countries (such as France, Spain, and the UK), but this flux is now happening in a less intensive way.

Looking at the data provided by Observatory of Emigration that considers Spain as the second country with the highest flow of emigrants and a not-so-high stock of Portuguese population (at least not in the highest position presented by that report), some possibilities might explain this event. The first idea is that the flux of emigrants is composed of people doing the movement as temporary migrants, and so they do not stick much to make a difference in the stock of the population. Another possibility might be related to the tradition in this route, and the presence of elderly Portuguese who either go back to their country or die in Spain, in both cases disappearing from the stock. It might also be the case of the acquisition of Spanish citizenship. Or even, the most possible option, the combination of all those elements.

The Observatory informs about the difficulty in finding and establishing accurate information on emigrants, especially because in democratic societies where freedom is a strong value, it is not mandatory to officially inform the Government that you are leaving the country. That is why to get the numbers, the Observatory studies the information of the destination country, or other institutions such as the UN or OECD, which makes the gathering and analysis harder.

Apart from that, it should also be contemplated that within the Schengen area, the mobility of persons is so facilitated that might lead to unfair data, since many (e)migrants move hidden from statistical provision, matching one of the characteristics of the Schengen area, in which is possible to move and travel without registration and bureaucratic procedures.

The United Kingdom has been an important destination for Portuguese emigrants. In 2019, the UK was the first destination of Portuguese: 17.000 entered, more

than double than the second country on the list (8.347 in Switzerland)[115]. The number of people living in the UK, in 2021, who were born in Portugal was 170.000, of which 83.000 were male and 87.000 female. However, the stats show that if it was considered the individuals who held the Portuguese nationality, this number jumps to 268.000 (50% each gender)[116]. This can be explained because a lot of people who were not born in the country, hold Portuguese nationality (which is possible to acquire based on a set of reasons and following specific procedures that it will be explained later), and use it to move due to specific benefits linked to it (for example, some benefits given only to European citizens).

The influx of 2019, draws attention due to the large increase compared to the previous year (+40% from 2018 to 2019) might be put on the Brexit account, since that was the last year of the European Union facility in moving. There was also an increase in the number of people acquiring British citizenship in the period of 2017 to 2019 (last year available)[117]. In 2016, just 672 Portuguese acquired the citizenship from the UK. This amount grew to 1.234 in 2017, 1.906 in 2018 and 2.226 in 2019.

The resident population in Spain who was born in Portugal decreased with time. Since 2011, the number is getting lower and in January of 2021 it was 95.584 (at the working age was 75.989 - almost 80% of the Portuguese population). As a trend seen before, the majority in all years are men. The group age with most residents is 40-44, a steady increase until it reaches 10.276 people.[118]

The influx of Portuguese-born is diverse from the data presented by the Observatory of Emigration above mentioned (that informs that in total 8.000 Portuguese entered in Spain in 2021). The Spanish Statistical Institute informs that entered in the country 4.597 people born in Portugal in 2021 and 4.043 in 2020[119] (considering the

---

[115] Data retrieved from: OECD.Stat. International Migration Database - Inflow of foreign population by nationality. Available at: https://stats.oecd.org/Index.aspx?DataSetCode=MIG. Last visited: 14 AUG 2023
[116]Data retrieved from: Officer for National Statistics. Dataset: Population of the UK by country of birth and nationality: individual country data (Discontinued after June 2021). Available at: https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/populationandmigration/internationalmigration/dat asets/populationoftheunitedkingdombycountryofbirthandnationalityunderlyingdatasheets. Last visited: 14 AUG 2023; Data retrieved from: Officer for National Statistics. Dataset: Population by country of birth and nationality (Discontinued after June 2021). Available at: https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/populationandmigration/internationalmigration/dat asets/populationoftheunitedkingdombycountryofbirthandnationality. Last visited: 14 AUG 2023
[117] Eurostat. Demographic indicator: Acquisition of citizenship by age group, sex and former citizenship - MIGR_ACQ__custom_7460097. Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/MIGR_ACQ__custom_7460097/default/table?lang=en. Last visited: 14 SEP 2023
[118] Data retrieved from: INE - Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas. Demographic Indicator: Población residente por fecha, sexo, grupo de edad y país de nacimiento. Available at: https://www.ine.es/jaxiT3/Datos.htm?t=56937. Last visited: 14 AUG 2023.
[119] Data retrieved from: INE - Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas. Demographic Indicator: Flujo de inmigración procedente del extranjero por semestre, sexo, grupo de edad y país de nacimiento. Available at:

Portuguese nationals, the numbers are 6.759 for the year of 2021 and 5.613 for 2020[120]). Again, there is a difference between the data for people who were born in Portugal and the data for Portuguese nationals. The accuracy of these data is difficult to reach seeing the closeness of both countries and the familiarity between them.

The emigration outside the EU countries is also weighted by those heading to Switzerland, one of the busiest routes in the past few years, together with the United Kingdom and Spain (OECD, 2023). The OECD dataset shows that in 2013, the country was the most preferred destination with a flux of 19.925 people[121] (the Swiss Office informs that in that year the number was actually 20.039[122]).

The immigrant population comprises a considerable part of the society. In 2021, from the total of 8.738.791 people living in Switzerland, 2.244.181 were foreigners (11.8%). At the end of 2021, there were 255.236 Portuguese living in the country (11,37% of the foreigners), which makes them the third largest nationality there, behind Italy (328.252 - 14,6%) and Germany (311.299, 13,8%)[123].

During the year 2021, 7.675 Portuguese nationals entered the country, but 10.283 left, which has been a tendency in the last years and one of the causes of the decrease of the overall Portuguese population. Since 2017, there has been a negative net migration among Portugueses, which drove in addition to the number of births (also in decline from 2016) and deaths, to the previously mentioned decrease started in 2016.

---

https://www.ine.es/jaxiT3/Datos.htm?t=24390. Last visited: 14 AUG 2023.

[120] Data retrieved from: INE - Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas. Demographic Indicator: Flujo de inmigración procedente del extranjero por semestre, sexo, grupo de edad y nacionalidad. Available at: https://www.ine.es/jaxiT3/Datos.htm?t=24389. Last visited: 14 AUG 2023.

[121] Data retrieved from: OECD.Stat. International Migration Database - Inflow of foreign population by nationality. Available at: https://stats.oecd.org/Index.aspx?DataSetCode=MIG. Last visited: 14 AUG 2023

[122] Data retrieved from: Swiss Federal Statistical Office. Dataset: Demographic balance of the permanent resident population by citizenship, 2010-2021. Available at: https://www.bfs.admin.ch/bfs/en/home/statistics/catalogues-databases/tables.assetdetail.23064741.html. Last visited: 15 AGO 2023

[123] ibidem

In the graph below (Figure 9) this tendency is easily noted.

Figure 9: Fluxes of immigration, emigration, and net migration of Portuguese in Switzerland (2011 - 2021).
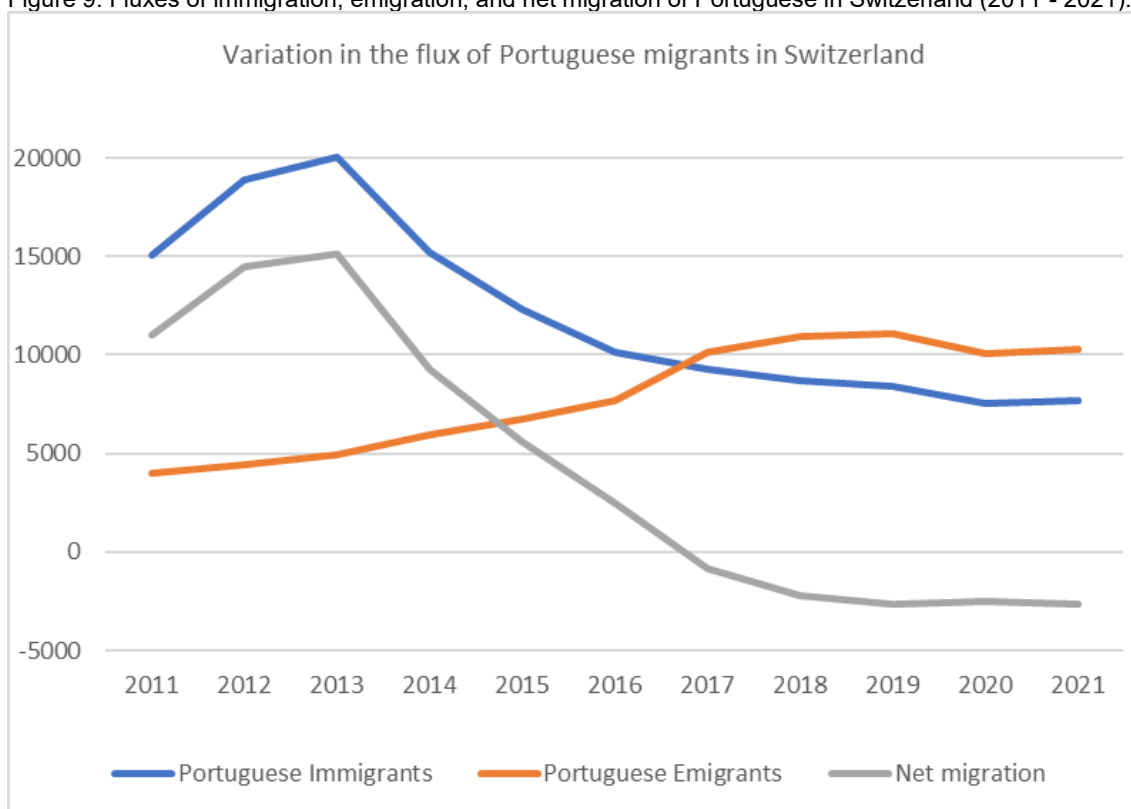
The entrance of Portuguese in Switzerland reached its peak in 2013 with the registration of 20.039 nationals in the country. The next year, besides having a decline of 24% in the number of people getting in, the flux was still high (15.221). Since then, the increase in the number of Portuguese immigrants in the country remained negative for the whole period, until 2021, when for the first time, it had a positive increase of 1,76% (7.675 Portuguese entered the country against 7.542 in 2020)[124]

From 2015, the country where most Portuguese acquired citizenship was Switzerland (21.672 acquisitions from 2015 to 2021)[125]. In 2021, out of the total of 207.251 Portuguese-born living in the country, 25.337 had Swiss citizenship (12% of the total). Within the Portuguese-Swiss population, 58% were women (14.836), a frame that changes among those who do not hold citizenship, considering that, of the Portuguese-

---

[124] ibidem
[125] Data retrieved from: Eurostat. Demographic indicator: Acquisition of citizenship by age group, sex and former citizenship - MIGR_ACQ__custom_7155586. Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/MIGR_ACQ__custom_7155586/default/table?lang=en. Last visited: 14 AUG 2023

born who live in Switzerland as foreign, 44% were women.[126]

The participation of Portuguese in the migration scenario in Switzerland is undeniable and another proof that Portuguese are still going (maybe in less frequency, though), to destinations where their compatriots live.

France is another of these countries where, in spite of the emigration flow having been losing its power, is still important in Portuguese emigration.

Almost 10% of the French population is composed of immigrants[127]. The data for the year 2020, informs that the Portuguese were 601.762 out of the 6.643.698 total migrants, being the third largest nationality group in the country, behind Algeria (853.466) and Morocco (802.806)[128]. This stock of population makes France as the principal country where the Portuguese are settled.

On the other hand, the emigration to there was facing a constant decrease until 2021, when there was a positive variation of 27,7% as 7.663 emigrants were received in the country (5.998 in 2020). From 2017 to 2018, the flux reduced 32,8%, being the lowest change in the period. Unsurprisingly, the year with the highest number of people moving in (based on the period available) was 2013 when 18.803 Portuguese migrated. The majority of the migrants all the years were men (yearly variation of 51% to 55% in the period)[129].

In Germany, as it was published in its own Federal Statistical Office (2023), the number of Portuguese migrants who entered the country in 2021 was 7.174, a number a bit lower than in 2022 (8.113)[130]. The Portuguese population living in the country at the end of the year 2021 was 124.203, and around 53,5% were men. From the total, around 12% (16.410) were within the age group 21-30; 35,7% (44.426) in the group age 30-50 and 20,6% (25.609) in the group 50-60. Important to highlight that the amount of people

[126] Data retrieved from: Swiss Federal Statistical Office. Dataset: Permanent resident population by country of birth, category of citizenship and sex, 2010-2021. Available at: https://www.bfs.admin.ch/bfs/en/home/statistics/catalogues-databases/tables.assetdetail.23064831.html. Last visited: 15 AUG 2023

[127] Data retrieved from: Institut national de la statistique et des études économiques. Homepage. Available at: https://www.insee.fr/en/accueil. Last visited: 15 AUG 2023

[128] Data retrieved from: Institut national d'études démographiques. Table: Immigrants by country of birth in 2020. Available at: https://www.ined.fr/en/everything_about_population/data/france/immigrants-foreigners/countries-birth-immigrants/. Last visited: 15 AUG 2023

[129] Eurostat. Demographic indicator: Immigration by age group, sex and citizenship - MIGR_IMM1CTZ__custom_7164874. Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/MIGR_IMM1CTZ__custom_7164874/default/table?lang=en. Last visited: 14 AUG 2023

[130] Data retrieved from: German Federal Statistical Office. Dataset: 12711-0007: Migration between Germany and foreign countries: Germany, years, citizenship. Available at: https://www-genesis.destatis.de/genesis//online?operation=table&code=12711-0007&bypass=true&levelindex=1&levelid=1692012022499#abreadcrumb. Last visited: 14 AUG 2023

older than 65 (16.513) was almost the same as those between 21-30[131].

It is also important to consider the Portuguese participation in Luxemburg. Despite not being one of the most common places for Portuguese to move (the country is the sixth in the Observatory of Emigration list), the representation of them in the migrant community is expressive and calls attention. Portuguese is the largest immigrant group in the country: in 2021, they were 14,5% of the total population (and 30,8% of the foreigners), being 93.659 residents (Statec, 2023).

Luxembourg might be considered an international country in the sense of gathering citizens from a variety of countries, whose moving was motivated by its economic power within the EU. From the total population, 47,2% is foreign and from the 52,8% Luxembourgers, 18% hold dual citizenship (Statec, 2023)[132]. In a period of 5 years (2017 - 2021), 6.067 Portuguese got Luxembourg citizenship, indicating their stability and permanence as residents[133].

There was always an emigrant flux in that direction but the last wave of emigration called more attention to the route, since it increased the importance of that community in the country.

Marques (2019) developed a survey with Portuguese entrepreneurs in Luxembourg and identified that the group of Portugueses who are self-employed in the country, are concentrated in activities such as hotels and restaurants, trade and real estate. The majority started the business by buying an existing one and they usually developed the company in a sector they had already worked before, so they had acquired specific skills for the sector. Another important aspect of these businesses is that almost three-quarters reported they employed exclusive Portuguese nationals, which demonstrates also reliability in the community.

From the data collected and presented above, it is evident that many people who were not born in Portugal have the Portuguese citizenship and use it to migrate, which is shown in the difference between the data that presents information regarding people born in the country versus nationals of the country (or citizens). The number of people in a country who held the nationality is always higher than those who were born in Portugal,

---

[131] Data retrieved from: German Federal Statistical Office. Dataset: 12411-0009: Population: Germany, reference date, gender, age groups, nationality. Available at: https://www-genesis.destatis.de/genesis/online?operation=previous&levelindex=2&step=2&titel=Tabellenaufbau&leveli d=1692012807544&acceptscookies=false#abreadcrumb. Last visited: 14 AUG 2023

[132] Data at the Census date: 08 NOV 2021

[133] Data retrieved from: Eurostat. Demographic indicator: Acquisition of citizenship by age group, sex and former citizenship - MIGR_ACQ__custom_7155586. Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/MIGR_ACQ__custom_7155586/default/table?lang=en. Last visited: 14 AUG 2023

showing a tendency towards acquiring citizenship and emigrating afterwards, especially because Portugal is a country where this process is not arduous.

About the emigration to outside Europe, worth mentioning Angola as a destination country preferred by the Portuguese. The colonization background is responsible for the link between the two countries and the language spoken in the African country, which itself might be seen as an element in favor. It may be added to the agreement between the two Governments on a special type of working and investment visa for Portuguese who are heading to the country.

The emigration to Angola started to be stronger after 2004-2005 with the end of the country's civil war and the need to develop civil construction, rebuild infrastructure, and provide social assistance. This situation called for international technical high-skilled professionals, which attracted Portuguese investments (Candeias et. al., 2019). According to those authors, the profile of Portuguese emigrants is mostly men, adults and high-skilled.

The Observatory of Emigration informs Angola is still one of the main destinations of Portuguese and that in 2021 there were about 130.000 people born in Portugal living in Angola. By gathering data about the visas issued in the Angolan Consulates in Porto and Lisbon (no information about the Consulate in Faro), the Observatory says that since 2017, there has been a decline in the number of those documents, which indicates a decline in emigration to the country. According to the report, fewer people were emigrating due to the fewer opportunities in the labor market in Angola, consequences of the economic change in the country caused by the petrol price crisis. In 2019, just 1.708 Portuguese entered the country.

Another important feature is the returning emigration in the Portuguese community. According to the National Emigration Observatory, 19.172 people born in Portugal returned to the country in 2021. In the past 12 years (since 2011), most of the people who returned were men, and just about 5% of the returning migrants went back to spend their retirement in the country (categorized as 65 years or over)[134].

The country is working in a program to incentivize people to return called "Return Program - Time to Come Home"[135]. According to them, they are helping the emigrants and their descendants to go back home, if that is what they want, and enjoy the opportunity the country now has to offer. They are providing tax incentives and some other facilities, such as financial support if they are willing to be in the Portuguese labor

---

[134] Data retrieved from: Observatório da Emigração. Return of emigrants to Portugal. Available at: https://observatorioemigracao.pt/np4EN/1450/. Last visited: 13 AUG 2023.
[135] Translated by the author from Portuguese

market and loans to open companies. As a program, the Portuguese national has to apply for it, send a set of documents (such as proof that you are an emigrant) and wait for approval (Portuguese Government, 2023). The idea behind it is to encourage people to spend money on the country, contribute to the labor market and stimulate the economy.

As it was presented, gathering the data about emigration is not an easy task, especially within an area where mobility is facilitated and does not require bureaucratic procedures to be made. Depending on the data provided by each country might delay the analysis and overview of the general situation, apart from the impossibility of establishing a parameter on how the data was collected, the time frame and the publication date.

In any case, INE provides us with useful information about the number of permanent and temporary migrants and with the help of the Observatory of Emigration it is possible to have an idea of where the emigrants are going and the changing in fluxes.

It is also possible to note that emigrants are mostly men, people at young age, more educated (which indicates also that more high-skilled people are leaving), going to European countries, either being within the EU or not. It should not be discarded, however, the increasing participation of women in this flux and the diversity in the group age of people who decide to migrate.

2.4 Immigration

The integration of a non-EU migrant in the population, besides varying among countries and the perception of their nationals at them, is related to the legal status they afford in the country, since in Europe the entry and settlement of non-nationals is limited, which creates a hierarchy among migrants (Federico and Baglioni, 2021) and between migrants and nationals. The terms "emigrants" and "immigrants" are often used in a simplistic meaning, loaded with prejudice, as can be noted in the different - and hierarchical - use of many terms to refer to the same conceptual category: the term migrant is usually used for people coming from European peripheral countries, Africa and South-America while the term foreign is applied for those who sustain a more social and professional status or are from North and Central Europe (Nolasco, 2016).

The reason that leads people to migrate to Portugal is diverse. Some might go looking for better opportunities in the labor market or living conditions, some left their countries with an already issued job-visa, considering the internationalization of the recruitment process, and others would go for being a cheap country compared to where

they got their income from, which might be a consequence of the "working from anywhere" habits that have been developed in the past few years. Others go to Portugal to enjoy peace and quiet during their retirement.

The published data might not be accurate enough to have a precise idea of the numbers regarding immigrants in the country due to the possibility of moving without registering as a foreign person (a process easier for nationals of European Union countries) or for being a person with dual citizenship, and then registering with the one considered to involve less bureaucracy. Moreover, some of the numbers become hidden with the many possibilities the country offers of granting nationality, moment when the immigrant becomes national and then disappears from the migrant statistics.

2.4.1 Number of Immigrants in Portugal

According to the United Nations, it is estimated that in 2020, about 10% of the population of the country was composed of immigrants. Following the estimates of the Population Division, there was in Portugal that year an international migration stock of 1 001 963 people[136].

The Portuguese National Statistical Office (INE) informs that in 2021 there were 698 536 immigrants with the status of legal resident[137]. Following this indicator, the nationalities most observed in the country came from Brazil (204 313), the UK (41 873), Cape Verde (33 979), Romania (28 592), Ukraine (27 139), and Angola (25 683).

The participation of Brazilians in the total immigrant population is getting higher each year. In 2021, they alone were almost a third percent (29,25%) of the immigrants. Even without Brazilian assistance, the nationals of the CLPL countries had an important representation among immigrants (about 13% - 95 056 people), which reinforced the impact and collaboration among that community and how the nationals from these countries enjoy the opportunity offered by Portugal to migrate. Together with Brazil, the CLPL nationals were 42,3% of the migrants in 2021.

As it is shown in the Figure 10 (below), the Cape Verde's participation in the percentage of the total immigrant population reduced from 2014 to 2018, with the decrease in their nationals in the country. However, there was a sudden rise in 2019

---

[136] United Nations - Population Division. International Migrant Stock 2020: Destination. Available at: https://www.un.org/development/desa/pd/content/international-migrant-stock. Last visited: 14 AUG 2023
[137] Data retrieved from: INE - Instituto Nacional de Estatística. Demographic Indicator: Foreign population with legal status of residence (No.) by Place of residence (NUTS - 2013) and Nationality; Annual. Available at:
https://www.ine.pt/xportal/xmain?xpid=INE&xpgid=ine_indicadores&indOcorrCod=0010247&contexto=bd&selTab=tab2. Last visited: 20 AUG 2023.

when they were 37.110 in Portugal. After that, there was again a decrease in their population. Yet, they are in the top three nationalities during the whole period mentioned (2014 to 2021). Angola also faced a decrease in its population in the country. The year with fewer nationals in Portugal was 2017 and, since then, they have been increasing. In 2021, they were 25.751 people, an increase of 20,7% compared to 2011.

Note that the figure below (Figure 10) shows the percentage of nationalities in comparison to the total population of immigrants.

Figure 10: Stock of foreign population with legal status of residence in Portugal by nationality of CPLP countries (2011-2021)
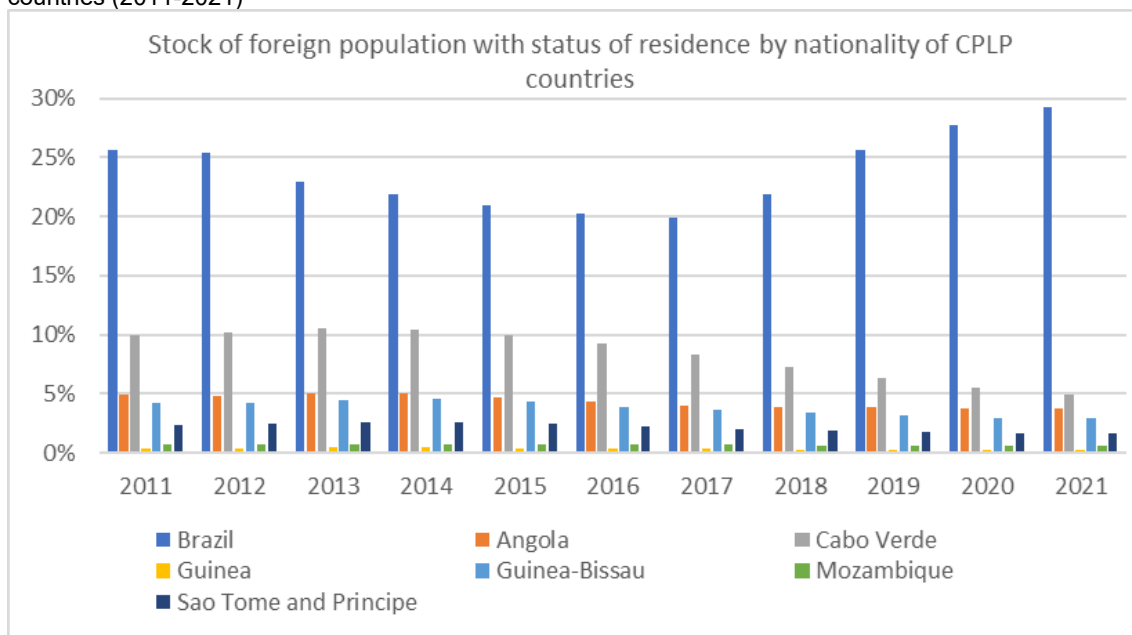
Source: INE (indicator: Foreign population with legal status of residence (No.) by Place of residence and Nationality; Annual). Processed by the author.

Obviously, the Brazilian participation among those nationalities calls special attention. However, countries as Angola, Cape Verde and Guinea-Bissau also have important representation in the country.

Changing for European nationalities, we can see important variations between the British, Romanians and Ukrainian, a part from Germans, Spanish, Italians and French. The figure (Figure 11) below shows that variation and, again, the percentage of the stock of each nationality was calculated in comparison with the total immigrant population.

Figure 11: Stock of foreign population with legal status of residence in Portugal by nationalities (2011-2021)
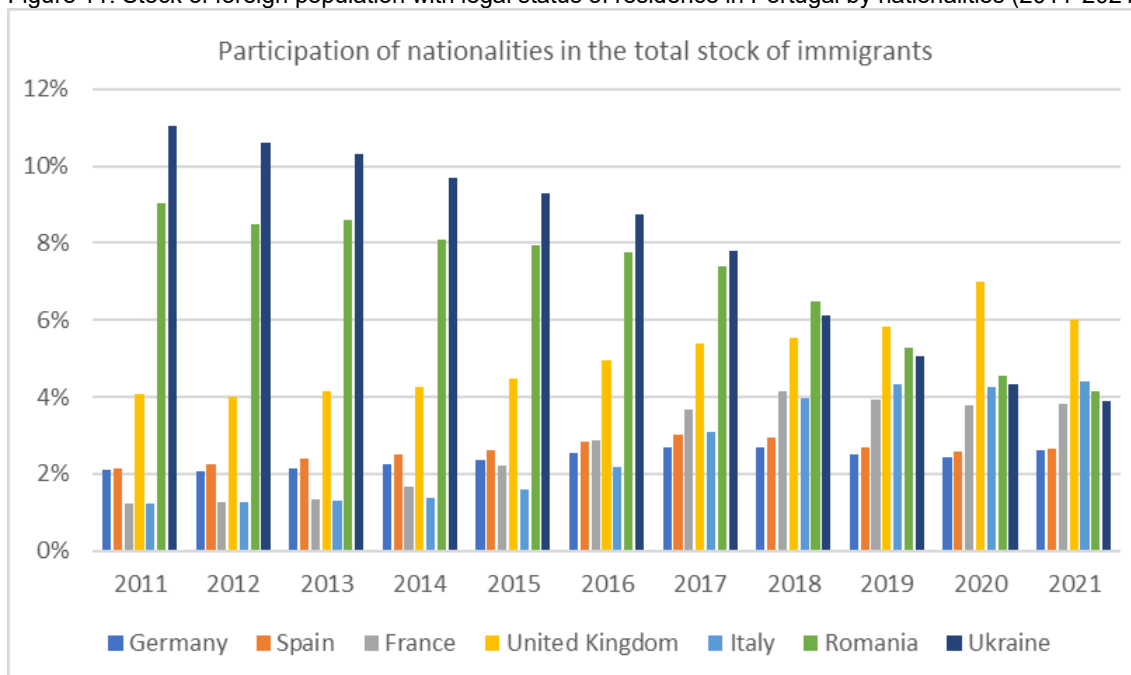

Source: INE (indicator: Foreign population with legal status of residence (No.) by Place of residence and Nationality; Annual). Processed by the author.

Since 2014, the British presence has been getting higher with a special increase in 2019 (+29,92%) and 2020 (+34,5%) compared to the previous year, which might be put into the account of Brexit as the willingness of people to migrate while they were still benefiting from the EU privileges. However, between 2020 and 2021 there was a reduction in the British number by about 9% - which can also be attributed to the pandemic - but the reduction was not enough to decrease the solid number of residents, who were still more abundant in 2021 (41.873) than in 2019 (34.358).

For Romanians, in spite of having a well-established presence in the country, it does not vary much. Since 2014, there have been about 30 thousand residents and the highest variation happened between 2020 (30.052 residents) and 2021 (28.592 residents) when there was a reduction of 4,86% (Figure 11).

The conflicts that were initiated in 2014 in Ukraine may be the cause for the high number of Ukrainians registering their residence in Portugal that year. It was the highest number for the period (37.809) that was followed by a constant decrease in the number of residents, which for four years in a row (2014/2017) were the third most numerous nationality in the country (Figure 11). Important to note this dataset does not present information for the period after February of 2022, when the invasion of the country happened and originated a massive flux of emigration in direction of the EU, that might

have had a great impact on the numbers of these nationals in Portugal.

It worth bringing a table (Figure 12) with the absolute number of nationals from the countries above mentioned, to better understand the variation of them. In some cases, such as the Romanians, in spite of the percentage of nationals facing a decrease between the years of 2014 (8,08%) and 2021 (4,14%) (Figure 11), the absolute number of nationals holding the status of residents in Portugal did not alter much. What did suffer an alteration was the total number of immigrants and consequently the number of nationals from another countries, both increasing. As the percentage is calculated in comparison to it (the total immigrant population), it may seem that their presence in the country decreased but, in reality, the decrease was just their percentage against the other countries.

Figure 12: Table with the absolute number of immigrants In Portugal by nationalities (in numbers)

	Angola	Brazil	Cabo Verde	France	United Kingdom	India	Italy	Romania	Ukraine	Other nationalities	Total
2011	21.329	111.295	43.475	5.293	17.675	5.316	5.338	39.312	48.010	137.665	434.708
2012	19.873	105.518	42.388	5.201	16.649	5.574	5.222	35.216	44.050	134.919	414.610
2013	19.967	91.238	42.011	5.268	16.471	5.983	5.121	34.204	41.074	136.931	398.268
2014	19.478	85.288	40.563	6.541	16.559	6.372	5.328	31.505	37.809	140.670	390.113
2015	18.088	80.515	38.346	8.440	17.230	6.852	6.130	30.523	35.702	141.933	383.759
2016	16.876	79.569	36.193	11.293	19.384	7.142	8.523	30.429	34.428	149.132	392.969
2017	16.764	83.061	34.706	15.319	22.431	7.901	12.925	30.750	32.420	160.405	416.682
2018	18.310	104.504	34.444	19.771	26.445	11.340	18.862	30.908	29.197	183.691	477.472
2019	22.592	150.919	37.110	23.125	34.358	17.584	25.408	31.065	29.706	217.109	588.976
2020	24.409	183.875	36.466	24.935	46.238	24.548	28.159	30.052	28.621	234.304	661.607
2021	25.751	204.669	33.988	26.719	41.932	30.248	30.819	28.911	27.194	248.305	698.536

Source: INE (Indicator: Foreign population with legal status of residence (No.) by Place of residence and Nationality; Annual). Organized by the author.

Finally, just to have a clearer look at the nationalities discussed above and their relation to each other, the figure below (Figure 13) shows the variation in the percentage (again, calculated based on the total immigrant population) of the stock of nationals from Brazil, the United Kingdom, Romania, Ukraine, Angola and Cape Verde in Portugal between 2011 and 2021. Here, it is clear to see that the Brazilian population increased in relation to the other countries.

Figure 13: Percentage of six nationalities in comparison to the total immigrant population in Portugal in the year between 2011 and 2021.
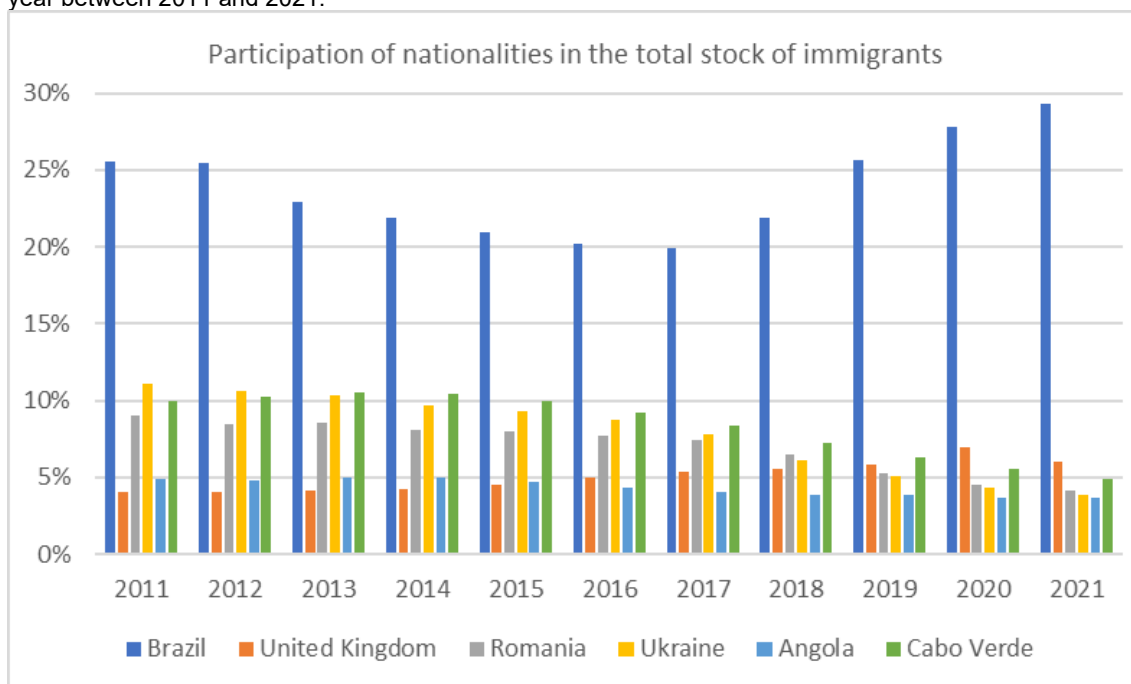
Source: INE (indicator: Foreign population with legal status of residence (No.) by Place of residence and Nationality; Annual). Processed by the author.

The place of residence of these groups changes among the nationalities. Considering the nationalities mentioned above, almost all of them have their nationals mostly in the Metropolitan Area of Lisbon, with the exception of the British who are mostly in the Algarve.

Cape Verde, Angola and Guinea-Bissau are the countries whose their nationals are more geographically concentrated: 79,8% of Cape Verdeans, 72,8% of Angolans and 81,38% of Bissau-Guineans are in the Metropolitan Area of Lisbon, while just around 0,16% of all the three of them are in Madeiras (0,17% Cape Verdeans, 0,14% Angolans, and 0,17% Bissau-Guineans). The best distributed nationals are Ukrainians and Romanians. The Ukrainians are 32% in Lisbon, 25,5% in the Center, 20% in Algarve and 8,5% in Alentejo while the Romanians are 43% in Lisbon, 24% in Algarve, 13,4% in Alentejo and 12,8% in Center.

The British are mostly in Algarve (49,6%), followed by the Metropolitan Area of Lisbon (22,9%) and in the Center (17,06%). Around 46% of Brazilians are in Lisbon, 16% in the Center and 23% in the North.

The indicator mentioned above presents just a restrictive set of nationalities (12 in total), selecting some of the main ones (there is no information how they were chosen). However, its advantages lie in the division of them according to the place of residence, following the NUTs regions. If, on the other hand, we consider a broader set of

nationalities (72 in total, considering the addition of some groups of nationality) available in another indicator[138], the order of the most common nationality in the country changes due to the addition to new nationalities into the dataset. The first is always nationals from Brazil with a great advantage (204.669), then the second position is occupied by nationals from the United Kingdom (41.932), Cape Verde (33.988), Italy (30.819), India (30.248) and then Romania (28.911) and Ukraine (27.194). At the bottom part, with less nationals in the country, we find Slovenia (251), Cyprus (126) and Malta (109).

In terms of comparison of the most common destinations of Portugal emigrants, Luxemburg does not have much influence on the immigrants in the country, seeing they were just 472 people in the country. The French were 26.719, the Swiss were 3.179 and the Germans were 18.340.

Based on the report published by SEF (Estrela et al., 2022) about the data from 2021, the immigrants were in that year, mostly in the group age 30-34 (89.338), followed by the 35-39 (81.909) and 25-29 (80.686). Those within the working age population were 76,4% of the foreigners and, again, as a standard in migration, the majority were male (51,5%).

In the period between 2013 and 2019, the number of applications for resident permits got higher year by year. In 2013, there were 33.246 applicants while in 2019 there were 129.155[139]. Looking at the decrease that happened between the years of 2011 (45.369) and 2013 (33.246), it is possible to conclude that even with the crisis in Portugal, the country was still attractive to foreigners, possibly because their move did not only depended on the attractiveness of Portugal but also on the reasons they decided to leave (for example, to study abroad or to join their families in the country).

In 2020 (118.124) and 2021 (111.311), there was a decline in comparison to the previous years that might perfectly be caused by the Covid-19 pandemic. The foreigners who need to apply for the resident permit are mostly over-sea migrants that were severely impacted by the restrictions imposed with the closure of boards and, even when it reopened, the requirements for people to enter the country were tough.

In 2021, the applicants were mostly living in Lisbon (48%), then in the North

---

[138] Data retrieved from: INE - Instituto Nacional de Estatística. Demographic Indicator: Foreign population with legal status of residence (No.) by Place of residence and Nationality ; Annual. Available at: https://www.ine.pt/xportal/xmain?xpid=INE&xpgid=ine_indicadores&indOcorrCod=0001236&contexto=bd&selTab=tab2&xlang=en. Last visited: 21 AUG 2023

[139] Data retrieved from: INE - Instituto Nacional de Estatística. Demographic Indicator: Foreign population who have applied for resident status (No.) by Sex; Annual. Available at: https://www.ine.pt/xportal/xmain?xpid=INE&xpgid=ine_indicadores&indOcorrCod=0001230&contexto=bd&selTab=tab2. Last visited: 21 AUG 2023

(17,9%), Center (14,4%) and then Algarve (10%).

They have been mostly men since 2014, yet the gap between the two sex is not big. The major difference was in 2021 when the male were 53,8% (59.885) of those who asked for the resident permit (out of 111.311)[140].

The main reason why immigrants applied for legal residence is to develop a professional activity (35.886) - usually a subordinative one, which means people are getting employed - then family reunification (20.178) and studies (10.919) (Estrela et. al, 2022). The reason varies according to nationality.

Even within the CLPL countries, the most common reason is not a consensus. For Angolans, 38,3% of the applications were justified by family reunification, 24,6% for study reasons, and 17,8% for working. For Cape Verdeans, the majority (42,4%) applied for study reasons, 21,2% for family reunification and 20,3% for working reasons. Nationals of Guinea-Bissau and São Tome and Principe were mostly justified by studies, while the first had 35,1% based on it and 24,9 on working reasons, the second had 37,6% for studies and 21,3% for work. Family reunification was 16,8% of the cases in the first country and 22,6% in the second. Therefore, we can conclude that in three of those four countries, the main reason to justify the migration and the request for legal residence was education.

In the case of Brazil, the majority were in the country to develop professional activity (44,7%), in sequence there were 31,1% who applied for family reunification and 10,8% for study.

Asian countries such as India, Bangladesh, Nepal and Pakistan had their great majority based on working reasons. Looking at India, this type of justification was 78,9% of the cases and 72,9% of Bengalis.

INE provides another indicator to show the quantity of people entering the country as "permanent immigrants"[141]. Following its definitions, permanent immigrants are people (foreign or not) who come to the country with the intention to stay at least a year and had lived abroad for the whole previous year. Obviously that number does not match the number of people asking for the resident permit but the pattern is the same: from 2013 to 2019 there was an increase of people entering the country, followed by a reduction in 2020 (83.654). In this case, however, the number got higher again in 2021 (97.119) and 2022 (117.843). Again, the majority are male but in the present indicator,

---

[140] Ibidem
[141] Data retrieved from: INE - Instituto Nacional de Estatística. Demographic Indicator: Permanent immigrants (No.) by Sex, Age and Birthplace; Annual. Available at: https://www.ine.pt/xportal/xmain?xpid=INE&xpgid=ine_indicadores&indOcorrCod=0006057&contexto=bd&selTab=tab2. Last visited: 21 AUG 2023.

there is a greater difference between the sex (the peak was in 2021 with a percentage of 63,4% being men and the smallest was in 2014 - 53,75%).

Important to note the age of those permanent immigrants. Since 2017, the age group in which more people are gathered is the 30-34, with great importance in the neighboring groups (20-24 and 35-39), which indicates the presence of a population that is not proper in the beginning of their job life but definitely will contribute to the country's labor market. A significant rise is observed again in the group age 60-64 with another peak in its neighbors groups. Here, there is an indication of people (either being Portuguese or not) coming in to spend their retirement.

Taking 2021 as an example, 10.559 permanent immigrants were in the group age 30-34, 10 491 were 25-29, and 9.476 were 35-39; looking at the elderly, 6.935 people entered in the country being 60-64, 7.054 being 65-69 and 7.172 were 70-74.

If we take the year 2021 and look at the age of the total stock of immigrants, we will see the great majority is also in the age group 30-34, 25-29 and then 35-39, following the same tendency of the permanent immigrants registered in the country in that year. In the age pyramid below (Figure 14) is easy to notice that among the foreigners in the country, there is a predominance of people in the younger part of the working age group (and also in the reproductive age), which might be useful in an aging population.

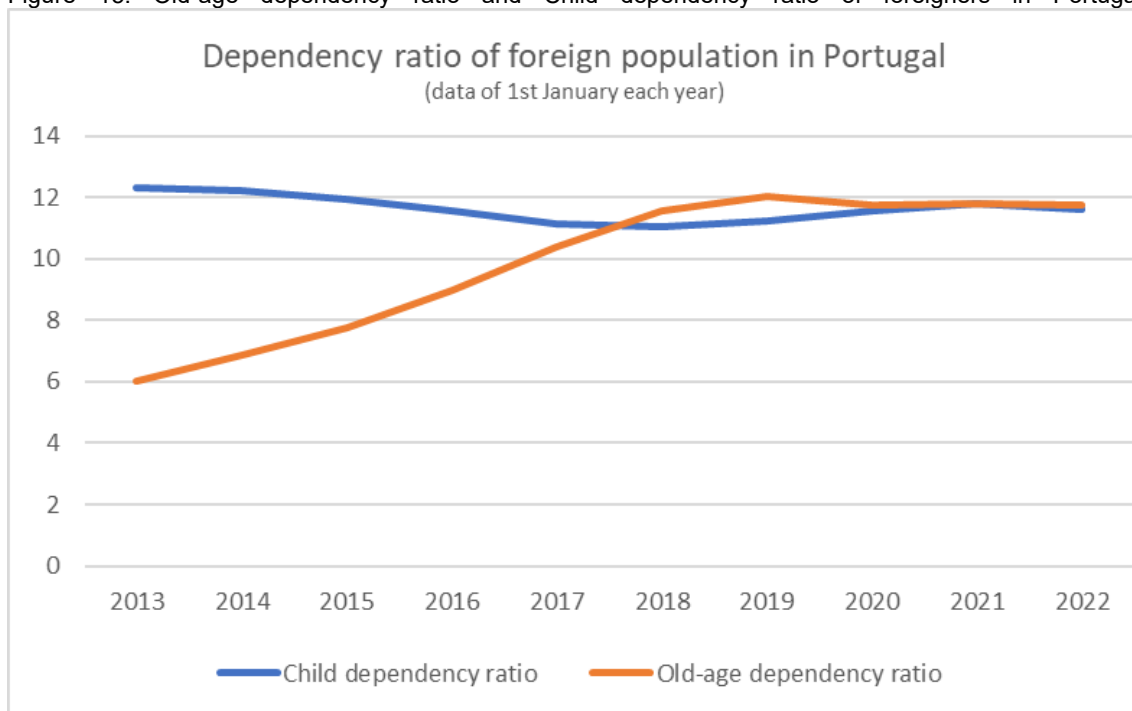Figure 14: Age pyramid of foreigner population living in Portugal in 2021
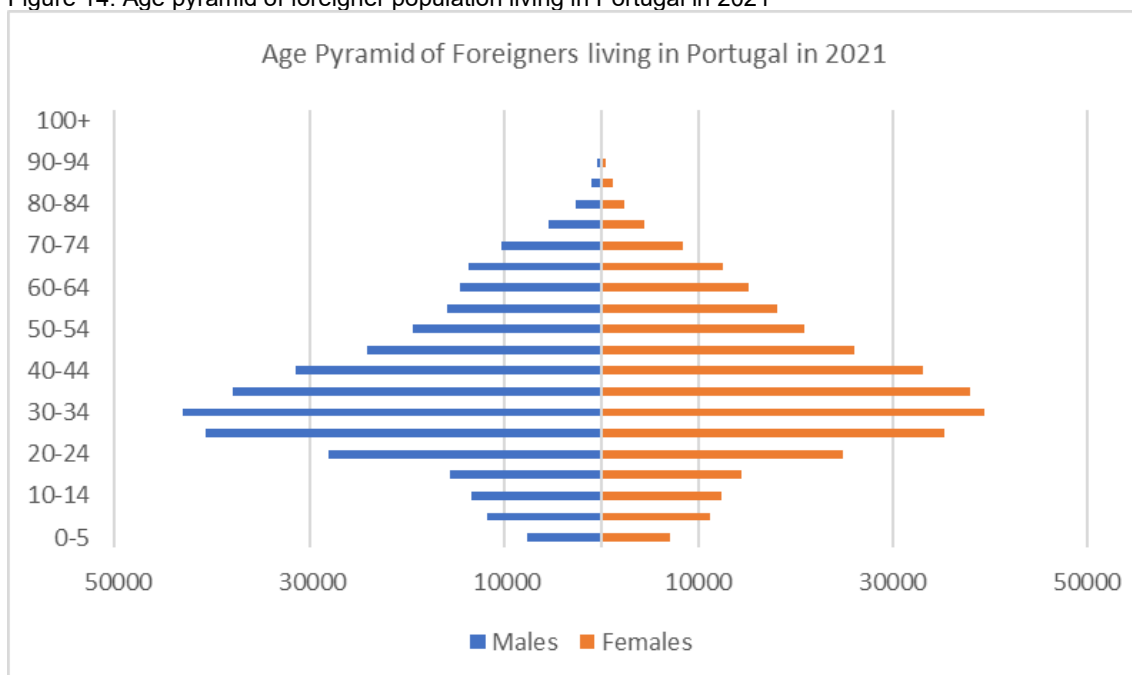
Source: Eurostat (Indicator: Population on 1 January by age group, sex and citizenship - MIGR_POP1CTZ__custom_7626255). Processed by the author.

Looking at the bottom part of the pyramid, we note a considerable amount of

children, who naturally entered the country following their parents, which might be a demonstration of that entire families have been migrating. In the pyramid is also possible to note the imbalance of male immigrants living in Portugal, as it was already commented.

Having another point of view, if we look at the old-age and child dependency of foreigners in Portugal (Figure 15), we see the greater dependency of children were a tendency until 2018, when both ratio met each other. We cannot say, however, that there were a proper shift between the ratios, considering they are very close to each other since then. By analyzing just these two data, it is not possible to affirm these are bad indications, considering the foreigner children that compose the indicator might be part of the job market in the future (maybe in the close future), and also that a considerable part of those elderly is, in reality, retired foreigners that go to the country to spend their retirement. Besides, it worth mentioning that the child age dependency did not alter much in the period, but rather the old-age dependency increased.

Figure 15: Old-age dependency ratio and Child dependency ratio of foreigners in Portugal

Source: EuroStat (Indicator: Population on 1 January by age group, sex and citizenship - MIGR_POP1CTZ__custom_7582725). Processed by the author.

In comparison to the dependency ratios for the Portuguese population, we can note that for the country, since 2000 the old-age dependency has been higher than the child one, indicating a stronger presence of elderly in the population for more than two decades. Here, on the other hand, there is more balance between them two. Besides,

the absolute number of both ratios is higher for Portuguese population, which means many more children and elderly are depeding on the working-age population in relation to the foreigners.

Finally, worth mentioning the net migration in Portugal. As it was previously commented, the positive growth in the population happened due to immigration, since the crude ratio of natural increase was not enough to promote an increase in the population. Apart from this, it was seen that the emigration in the country is still a phenomenon and, therefore, also impacts in the size of population.

Figure 16: Emigrants, Immigrants and Net Migration in Portugal (2011 and 2022)
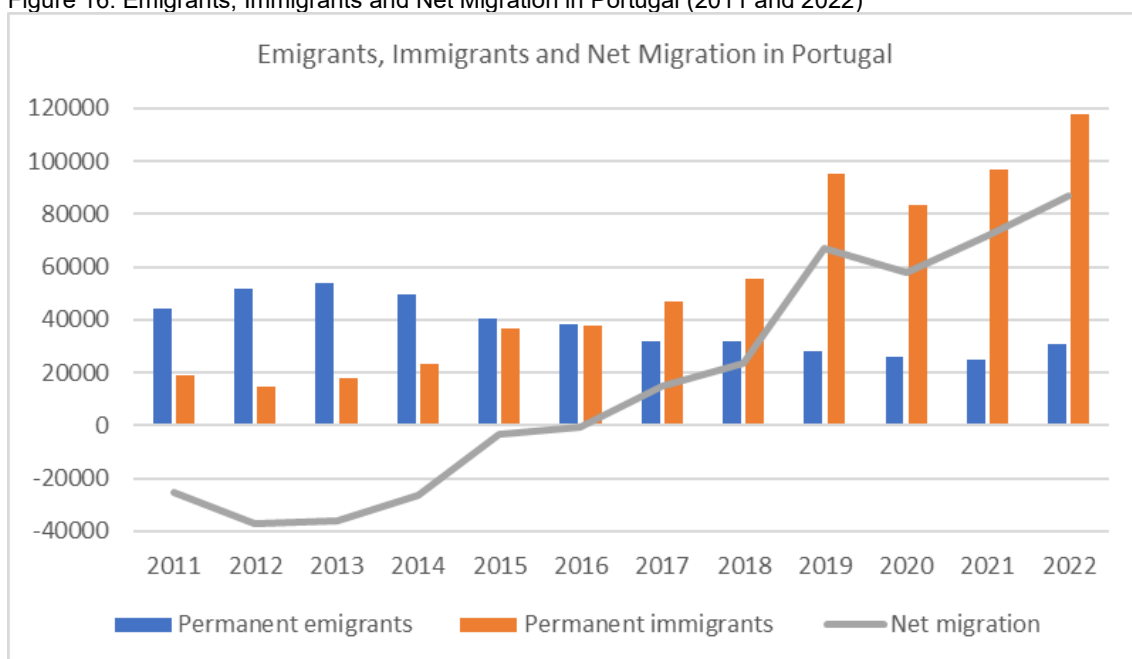
Looking at the years of economic crisis (2011 - 2014) the emigration was a reality in the country, at the same time the immigration was not so strong. The result, of course, was a negative net migration. It is good to mention that the variation of the net migration to positive did not depend exclusively on the reduction of emigration, but rather in the amazing growth in the number of immigrants in the country.

If we have a look in the absolute number, in 2011 there were 43.998 people who left as permanent emigrants while in 2022 they were 30.954. On the other hand, in 2011 there were 18.820 permanent immigrants in Portugal while in 2022 the country received 117.843 people with this status. The net migration in 2022 was 86.889, an increase of 20,6% compared to 2021 (72.040). Looking at the numbers that compose the indicator,

both permanent immigrants and emigrants had an increase compared to the previous year (21,3% and 23,4% respectively).

One more time, we can highlight the importance of immigration for the Portuguese population.

2.4.2 Legal Migration Framework

Acknowledging Portugal as a country of immigrants can be justified not only by their representation in the local population or statistics, but also by the varied forms in which the country has tried to internationalize migration policies. During the years 1992 and 2007, there were 6 different regularization processes of immigration, which obviously increased the statistical visibility of the group. On the other hand, an alteration in the nationality law in 2007, contributed to many people disappearing from this data, since many foreigners could applied for Portuguese nationality (Gois and Marques, 2018) and lost their status of immigrant .

The most recent attempt of the Portuguese Government to regularize the status of immigrants was launched in 2022 through legal alterations, and was followed with practical procedures during 2023. According to SEF (Portuguese Service for Foreigners and Borders), this is not a regularization process, but rather an effort to recover procedures that were pending since 2021. For that, one of the measures to issue and renovate the resident permit was the implementation of an online procedure, as the first step, and then the in-presence attendance to a center designated only for this purpose that would work in an intensive rhythm. Together with that, it was approved the implementation of a simpler and faster procedure for CLPL nationals to get the residence permit (SEF, 2023).

This initiative comes together with a program to regularize also the immigrants from the UK who need new documents - an updated resident permit - due to Brexit. The Withdraw Agreement protects not only the UK national but also their family members, even those from third countries. As a consequence of Brexit, the British living in Portugal before the transitory period had to change their resident permit documents, but holding the same rights as before. The SEF developed a platform to attend just those immigrants (https://brexit.sef.pt/en/), considering their expressive representation in the Portugal immigrants scenario.

Apart from the ordinary types of resident permits (student, job or familiar reunion), Portugal has been an important destination for those who want to invest. The so-called golden visa (article 90-A, Law n. 23/2007) has had an important impact on the past few

years, especially because the investment is not mandatory to be in a company set in the country, but it is also considered those made in real estate, or investment on research activities. The main benefit is to hold a resident permit with visa waiver for entering the country, besides permit for working and living, as well as free movement among Schengen areas, and apply for Portuguese naturalization after filling the other requirements (SEF, 2023).

The program was initiated in 2012 (and expanded in 2015), as a manner of bringing capital to the country that, at that time, was facing a severe financial crisis, either welcoming wealthy people that would invest and spend money there or by creating and maintaining new job positions. The possibility offered by this type of visa might work as a migration project for wealthy people who have the money to apply for it, since its relatively low value in face of its benefits. There is a positive impact on the country since the investments insert a lot of money into the economy. However, the unstoppable acquisition of properties by foreigners, mainly in big cities, led to a speculation in the real estate market and the rise in the properties value turned them unaffordable for Portugueses - or those whose substance is based on wages coming from the Portuguese labor market. That is the reason why there has been a lot of discussion about it and about eventual modifications in its requirements, until get to the point that it was proposed at the Portuguese Parliament a change in the law to withdraw the ownership of real estate as one of the possibility to obtain the golden visa in the country (Law Project n° 109/XV/1 - 2022).

The alteration in the immigration law (law 23/2007) in 2022, in addition to approve a simplification in the visa procedures for CLPL nationals, also approved a facilitated procedure for issuing the resident visa for those who want to study in the country, besides creating a new type of visa for those who want to go to Portugal to look for a job. This last visa has a duration of 120 days that can be extended for another 60[142], in an attempt to attract a migration labor force, much needed as it was seen before.

As for the CLPL nationals, the facilities provided by the alteration include the exemption to present the returning flight ticket, health insurance and proof of financial subsistence to ask for the visa or for its renovation. Apart from that, the visa is analyzed and given in a fast-paced procedure as a manner of incorporating some of the agreements made among the CPLP countries. Following a mobility agreement signed by the countries after a meeting held in July 2022 in Angola, a normative decree was

---

[142] News published on the Portuguese Government website on 21/07/2022 by the name "Assembleia da República aprova alterações à «Lei dos Estrangeiros»"

issued (Portaria n° 97/2023) in February 2023, recognizing the importance of a flexible system to accommodate the peculiarities of each of these countries and stipulated a template for an administrative title of residence.

Some authors allege this post-colonial link, used as a justification for cooperation (as the case of CPLP) can be seen as a manner of the former colonizer to maintain a soft power over the ex-colonies. International students can be used as an example of the maintenance of this relation, since there is a tendency of them to move to their former colonial metropoles to attend universities and justify it on cultural and linguistic reasons (Alves and King, 2022) that leads to an easier adaptation.

Another important legal diploma that brought an important alteration in the migration scenario in the country was the one made to the law of nationality, published on 17 April 2006. This law (n° 02/2006) provided the fourth alteration in the nationality law (Law 37/1981) and delivered a huge progress to migrants in the country.

In its provision it is guaranteed the original nationality (the law calls Portuguese by Origin) to children born in the country if (i) one of their parents are Portuguese; or (ii) their parents are both non-nationals but one of them was born in Portugal; or (iii) their parents are both non-nationals but one of them legally resides in the country for at least 5 years - in this case, it must have a declaration that the children want to be Portuguese; or (iv) there is no other nationality (was born stateless). The children will also be Portuguese when they are born in a foreign country and one of their Portuguese parents are either (i) working for the Portuguese Government in that State or (ii) have their birth certificate registered in the Portuguese Civil Registration Office or declare they want to be Portuguese. In 2015, it was approved another alteration in the law (Organic Law n° 09/2015) that grants the nationality to grandchildren of Portuguese, even if the children were born outside the country. In all these cases, they will be Portuguese from the origin, so there will not be a need for more documents for further naturalization.

Immigrants can also benefit from the law provision about naturalization. The naturalization, on the other hand, provides the nationality to foreigners that are living in the country - it does not matter what the reasons - for at least 6 years. In addition, it is required for the applicant to know the Portuguese language and do not hold a criminal record. Important to say that, according to the Portuguese law, multi citizenship is allowed, so you do not have to give up on your previous one.

2.4.3 Acquisition of nationality

Obviously, the acquisition of Portuguese nationality facilitates many

bureaucracies in Portugal and in the EU, such as the periodic renewal of the resident permit and the fulfillment of all the mandatory requirements. As it was seen, in Portugal there are some beneficiaries for CLPL nationals. However, this is not the case for all the EU countries, as well as nationals from other countries. That is the reason why naturalization is much desired by non-EU immigrants who want to migrate permanently to some of the EU countries.

In 2021, 54.537 people acquired Portuguese nationality, being 24.516 people resident in Portugal and 30.021 abroad. Those who had, as a previous nationality, one coming from the countries of the European Union were just 897, and those who had one coming from "other European countries" were 3.805, with special participation from Ukraine (1.619). From Africa (8.716), the special participation is on account of the CPLP countries: Angola (1.904), Cape Verde (3.320) and Guiné-Bissau (1.401). The previous American nationality was declared by 16.038 people, from which 13.134 were Brazilians and 1.032 were Venezuelans. In Asia (25.062) we have an expressive number of nationals from Israel (20.479), Nepal (1.429), India (1.255) and Bangladesh (790). Just the Brazilians and Israelis were responsible for almost 62% of the total nationality acquisition that year.[143]

The increase between 2019 and 2020 in granting Portuguese nationality for these two groups calls for much attention. For Brazilians, there was an increase of 76% (9.314 people acquired in 2019 and 16.387 in 2020), and for Israelis this rate jumps to 360% (3.593 in 2019 to 16.593 in 2020)!

The reason behind why people acquire nationality changes among the main countries and their background. The reason for acquisition also interferes with the location people are applying for: from Portugal or from abroad.

In the case of nationals from Ukraine, the most common reason why people acquire nationality is because they are Portugal residents for more than 6 years. In this case, it's natural that the application is made in Portugal. For Brazilians, the reason for acquisition varies among long residence in the country, direct descendancy from Portugueses or descendancy of Sephardic Jews (another possibility granted, as it will be further presented), so the localization from where the application is made also varies.

Between 2012 and 2021, a total of 25.901 Ukrainians received Portuguese nationality, with an overwhelming majority of 99,5% (25.769) having applied for it in

---

[143] Data retrieved from: INE - Instituto Nacional de Estatística. Demographic Indicator: Foreign population that acquired portuguese nationality (No.) by Sex, Previous nationality and Type of acquisition of nationality; Annual. Available at: https://www.ine.pt/xportal/xmain?xpid=INE&xpgid=ine_indicadores&indOcorrCod=0008370&contexto=bd&selTab=tab2. Last visited: 19 AUG 2023

Portugal. A similar pattern reappears for Angolans, where out of a total of 18 460 cases, 87% were processed in Portugal. Same for Cape Verdeans, where in a total of 37.182 nationalities granted, 91,5% were obtained through applications in the country. That frame is exactly the opposite from Israeli that in the period were contemplated for 42.854 Portuguese nationality and, 95,75% of the grants (41.034) were made abroad, which makes sense considering the reason why they applied for it (descendancy of sephardic Jews). The Brazilian were in-between those other two: from the 94.706 acquisitions granted, 69,5% (65.877) were done in Portugal and 30,5% abroad (28.829).

In 2021, the Ukrainians living abroad that were granted the nationality were just 16, all the others 1.603 were living in the country. As it was mentioned, the localization where the application is analyzed is related to the reason for the naturalization. In the case of the Ukrainians, 1.251 were granted the benefit because they were living in the country for 6 years (77% of the cases), while 225 acquired by marriage or factual relationship with a Portuguese national longer than 3 years. In the case of Cape Verdeans, the majority (68% - in numbers: 2.287) were living in the country for 6 years and 452 applied for the marriage reason. Those who applied for the residence reason, were mostly in Portugal (99%) while 55% of those who benefited by marriage were in Portugal.

The scenario for Brazilians changes considering their variety of reasons for application. About 36% of people who obtained the nationality declared the reason for being married or in a relationship longer than 3 years. Among those, more than a half (64%) were not resident in Portugal. The second reason was being living in the country for more than 6 years, this group was composed of 4533 people (35% of the total) and the majority were in the country (important to note a 35% reduction of this type of reason compared to 2020). The third reason that justifies the application by Brazilians was the descendant of Sephardic Jews: 1 645 people (12% of the total) and 93% of them (1 527) did not live in Portugal at the time.

Finally, the Israeli most common justification for acquiring the nationality is by the reason of being descendants of Sephardic Jews: 97% of the applicants have this motivation (19.881 people). From the total grants (20.479), the great majority (95%) is processed outside Portugal, which makes sense considering they do not have to go to Portugal as a requirement of asking the nationality.

Important to highlight the representation of the Israeli requests and what motivated them. There is a special provision in the Portuguese legal system referring to descendants of Sephardic Jews that used to live in the country, from which the Israeli

benefit. A Law Decree in 2015 (n.º 30-A/2015) changed the nationality law, adding the possibility of "granting the Portuguese nationality, by naturalization, to descendants of the Sephardic Jews".

The preamble of the law, defines Sephardic jews as those who are the descendants of the traditional communities of Jews that lived in the Iberian Peninsula many centuries ago. It also brings the historical background of their participation in the country. According to the law, these communities were fleeing the Spanish inquisition and looking for protection in Portugal, which was granted in the first place. The king, however, determined after a while the expulsion of those who did not want to be catholicized. Some had to flee again, others fake their Catholicism and others were killed. This law, therefore, can be seen as a historical reparation for that community, allowing them to go back to their homeland. To ask for the naturalization, the person has to be an adult, not hold a criminal record and prove the link with some Sephardic community of Portuguese origin, as could be tracked by speaking Portuguese language or the surname.

As it was presented, there are many possibilities to acquire Portuguese nationality and even if you do not fit into the naturalization by descendancy, it is possible to acquire by the resident period in the country. The fact is that, whatever is the reason why people are getting the nationality, the consequence is that they change their status and they are not counted anymore as immigrants.

2.4.4 Reasons behind the immigration

It is also important to acknowledge the reason driving each of the main nationalities to immigrate to Portugal.

In the case of the British, those living in Portugal follows the pattern imputed by the International Retirement Migrants, category in which the national of a wealth countries in the North decided to migrate to where their purchasing power is more advantageous - usually in the South or peripheral areas -, following an idea they created about the lifestyle of that place and their willingness to be part of it and live as the locals. In this category of migrants, it is common they do not even identify themselves as migrants, but rather as residential tourists. For them, the choice about moving is seen as a very well planned project to achieve in life, and not only a decision. One of the motivations is the relative wealth they would have in comparison to the destination country, as well as a way to reduce costs in the face of a possible decrease in pensions

(McGarrigle,2022).

The motivation can also cover the desire for a peace and quiet lifestyle, better quality of life, better purchasing power and definitely better weather. As the movement includes, mostly, the acquisition of a house - even when the retirees have it as a second home or season destination - the natural consequence is an increase in international housing investment and a real estate specialization in that field.

As the numbers show, almost 50% of the British in Portugal have their residence in Algarve, which is the area of the most famous beaches in the country and considered a summer destination. In 2021, they were the largest group of nationals in that region (total of 20.770 residents), being in front of Brazilians (17 496), Romenians (6 855) and French (6 328)[144].

The migration from Ukraine to Portugal came about in the early 2000s with a major male flux that was focused on working in the constructor sector. The migration process to Portugal and its intensity was different from others moves with comparable size or maturity, because either the countries had a long history that justify the number of migrants (not the case with Portugal), such as the flux to Poland or Czech Republic, or those that were newer, as the case of the movements going to Spain, Greece or Italy, never got to the same big contingent of people (Fonseca, 2016). But, at the time, there were opportunities in the country that called the attention from the Ukrainians to move, to the point of hiring smugglers that encouraged the act.

The increase in that flux (a scenario shared among the Eastern European countries) is related to a degraded economy caused by delayed free-market reforms and the social-economical consequences of the armed conflicts that were responsible for the inexistence of meaningful changes in the society since the independence of the country (Duszczyk, 2019). So the main reason they were fleeing to the country was to work and, eventually, get money to send back to Ukraine.

In the past few years, Ukraine has been losing its position in the rank of most common nationality in Portugal, leaving the steady third position that was held between 2014 and 2017, to the seventh in 2021.

A big wave of immigration from Angola happened after its independence in 1975, when it started a civil war in the country that ended in 2002. Even considering there was a returning of nationals and Portuguese to Angola in the years that followed the end of the civil war, many remained in the country. The impact is that many Angolans chose

---

[144] Data provided by SEFSTAT - Portal de Estatística. Table: Estrangeiros em Faro. Available at: https://sefstat.sef.pt/forms/distritos.aspx. Last visited: 21 AUG 2023

Portugal as a destination not only because of the language, but also because they have family or friends living there (Candeias et. al., 2019).

The National Institute of Statistics of Angola presents a projection of population where it is assumed the total population of the country in 2022 was 32 million, of which 51.2% are women. The unemployment rate in Angola from 2019 to 2021 was around 30%[145] (a new Census with more updated data is scheduled for 2024), demonstrating a country facing an excessive presence of people out of the labor market that, at the same time, have a few benefits if they decide to migrate.

The Cape Verdean migration to Portugal was, initially, very difficult to track considering that while being a colony, the numbers were too often imprecise. During the 60s there was another huge flux to Portugal of workers that were accommodated in the construction sector and public infrastructure development, mainly in Lisbon and Algarve, that started to be recognized as a tourism destination and therefore needed construction sector workers there. In the 80s, a similar movement occurred with the same goal, but at that time the Cape Verdeans were indeed recognized as migrant workers rather than inter-regional migrants, as before, seeing the independence of the country in the 70s (Gois, 2006).

Nowadays, the scenario includes a great participation of students in the amount of immigrants. Obviously, as it also happens with Angolans, the link with the previous metropole and sharing the same language and few attributes of culture, help in the process of deciding Portugal as a destination to migrate as both factors can be seen as a facilitator in adapting to the new country.

For both Angola and Cape Verde, the creation of public universities in the country coincides with the decrease in the number of students in Portugal. However, since 1996, the mobility of students, and their access to the superior education, have been encountered by scholarship programs aimed specifically at nationals of African countries that speak countries (Alves and Iorio, 2021).

It should be considered the possibility of moving for studies purposes as a gateway to stay in the host country. Taking a degree in the country might lead to better opportunities in the labor market as the employers or company trust their own institutions, or might be seen as a step to acquire networking and be integrated in the new county. Getting the study visa might be just part of a plan that involves a permanent establishment in the country when the reason for moving, in the first, was always to work

---

[145] Data retrieved from: INE - Instituto Nacional de Estatística. Page: Estatísticas. Available at: https://www.ine.gov.ao/inicio/estatisticas. Last visited: 16 AUG 2023.

or raise a family in a new country (Alves and King, 2021).

Another time, it calls attention to the participation of migrants in the increase of population in the country. If we look just for the natural increase[146], we would see that in 2022, Portugal had a negative increase in relation to the previous year (-0,39%). Looking at the crude migratory rate[147] (+0,83%) that is calculated dividing the net migration of one specific year by the total population of that same year (in 2022: 86 889 as net migration and 10 467 366 as total population), we realized that the effective increase of the population in the country became positive (+0,44%), leaving no doubt about the contribution of migrants in the math.

The accusation people, far too often, make about immigrants taking jobs from nationals can be easily dropped by analyzing the statistics in Portugal. Firstly, the unemployment rate among foreigners is always higher than the national average. Secondly, the increase in the yearly number of permanent immigrants does not match an increase in the unemployment rate, but the contrary: there is a decrease in that rate.

Taking as an example the variation between the years 2018 and 2019 (bearing in mind the years of 2020 and 2021 may hold an irregular variation due to the Covid pandemic) we can see the unemployment rate in the country reduced of 8,3%, going from 7,2% to 6,6%[148], while a more prejudicial variation happened for foreigners who faced an increase of 2,46% in that rate, leaving 2018 with 12,2% of unemployment and going to 12,5% in 2019[149]. If the unemployment rose among foreigners and declined in the national average, it means a lot more nationals got a job. In the period, the number of permanent immigrants increased 72,3% in the country, showing that possibly many of them got integrated in the job market but, definitely, their entrance into the country did not cause any harm to the employment of nationals.

Again, the saying that immigrants are getting all the jobs, which is often loaded with a lot of prejudice and accusation, does not deserve any more attention, especially

---

[146] Data retrieved from: INE - Instituto Nacional de Estatística. Demographic Indicator: Crude rate of natural increase (%) by Place of residence (NUTS - 2013); Annual. Available at: https://www.ine.pt/xportal/xmain?xpid=INE&xpgid=ine_indicadores&indOcorrCod=0008263&contexto=bd&selTab=tab2&xlang=en. Last visited: 23 AUG 2023

[147] Data retrieved from: INE - Instituto Nacional de Estatística. Demographic Indicator: Crude migratory rate (%) by Place of residence (NUTS - 2013); Annual. Available at: https://www.ine.pt/xportal/xmain?xpid=INE&xpgid=ine_indicadores&indOcorrCod=0008253&contexto=bd&selTab=tab2&xlang=en. Last visited: 23 AUG 2023

[148] Data retrieved from: INE - Instituto Nacional de Estatística. Demographic Indicator: Unemployment rate (Series 2021 - %) by Place of residence (NUTS - 2013) and Sex; Annual (1). Available at: https://www.ine.pt/xportal/xmain?xpid=INE&xpgid=ine_indicadores&indOcorrCod=0011274&contexto=bd&selTab=tab2. Last visited: 23 AUG 2023

[149] Data retrieved from: INE - Instituto Nacional de Estatística. Demographic Indicator: Unemployment rate of foreigner active population of extra-community countries (Series 2021 - %); Annual. Available at: https://www.ine.pt/xportal/xmain?xpid=INE&xpgid=ine_indicadores&indOcorrCod=0011308&contexto=bd&selTab=tab2. Last visited: 23 AUG 2023

when the numbers show different. What happens, in reality, is that migrants are commonly taking positions that nationals did not want, a part from accepting positions that are too far from the one they were inserted before migrating, considering too often they accept under-skilled jobs in comparison to their level of education.

About their location, in spite of the existence of immigrants all over the country, as it was noted, they are concentrated mostly in the Metropolitan Area of Lisbon (49,25% are there), followed by Algarve (15,05%), North (14,33%) and Center (13,5%).

The SEF report shows us that a third of the application for legal residence in the country was based on working reasons, meaning migrants are in the country getting to the labor market and assisting an area much needed in Portugal. Information that matches with the great number of immigrants getting in the country within the 25-29, 30-34 and 35-39. Likewise, there is a tendency in the country of immigrants coming in after the 60s, with surely a different motivation from those within the above mentioned group.

The importance of the participation of each group of nationality was briefly analyzed together with their numbers and representation for a better understanding of the composition of the immigrant group. As Brazilians have a massive participation in the Portuguese immigrant scenario, with incomparable numbers with other nationalities, it is of utmost interest to give them more attention which will require studying them in a separate chapter.

CHAPTER 3 - The Brazilian Participation in the migratory scenario

According to Eurostat, the European country where most Brazilians live is by far Portugal. Brazilians are in huge numbers in Spain, Italy, Germany, and France but the presence in Portugal is much higher[150].

Obviously, the relationship built based on the colonial past is a part of it, since as inherence both countries share the language, some features of culture, and a come and go of migratory fluxes. The already existent relationship was strengthened with a lot of agreements between both countries, Portuguese benefits towards Brazilians and citizens of the CPLP countries, and the willingness of Brazilians to migrate to a country that, at least in a first sign, is similar to theirs.

Bearing in mind the amazing numbers of Brazilians in Portugal and their importance within the migratory scenario in the country, worth devoting a whole chapter to discussing this relation and the impact of the flux.

Important to inform, before the beginning of the discussion, that some data might appear diverse from each other. This happens because the information published by the Official Institutes sometimes cover different aspects of the same population. As a example, INE brings information about Brazilians by NUT region and cities, while SEF publishes by districts. We are not saying the data is untruthful but they are not always matching. In the present case, since we are dealing with immigration, we have also to consider that we have access to information regarding people who did a regular entry, apply for the right visa and resident permit. In this sense, people with irregular status or who entered in the country using their Portuguese nationality are not considered, statistically, in this discussion.

3.1 Legal Relationship

No need to mention that Brazilians enjoy the provisions of the legislation that benefits the nationals from the CPLP countries, for being part of that community. As was already mentioned, in 2018 was published a Regulatory Decree (n. 9/2018) that established faster procedures for issuing visas, and the exception for nationals of these countries from a few requirements when applying for visas

In spite of the Portuguese legal framework, composed of several laws and its many alterations that regulate and benefit immigrants, Portugal and Brazil, due to the

---

[150] Data retrieved from EuroStat. Demographic indicator: Population on 1 January by age group, sex and citizenship - MIGR_POP1CTZ__custom_7275463. Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/MIGR_POP1CTZ__custom_7275463/default/table?lang=en. Last visited: 28 AUG 2023

intensity of the route between the two countries, have some agreements that cover just their nationals. Nowadays, there are few general provisions that benefit Brazilians, such as the alteration in the immigration law or the provisions for CPLP countries' nationals, yet the direct legal relation between these two countries is still important.

In April 2023, new agreements on cooperation were discussed and signed between the countries, involving the recognition of basic education diplomas and mutual exchange of knowledge. Validation of higher education diplomas was out of the discussion. However, some professional associations of both countries (as in the case of Engineers and until recently of the lawyers) had agreements between themselves, in which the individual can ask for the validation (and transfer) of their subscription to the other country's association.

There are two treaties that are really important in the relationship Brazilian-Portuguese context, for changing the treatment of nationals in the country, and also changing the legal situations of the residents. This is the case of the Friendship Treaty, which establishes the Equality Statute (In Portugal, regulated by the Decree-law n. 154/2003) and the *Acordo Lula,* an informal name given to the Agreement made in 2003 that was responsible for the regulation of many workers at that time (approved in Portugal by the Decree n. 40/2003).

a) Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Consultation *(Tratado de Amizade)*

The Portuguese Decree-law n. 154/2003 regulates the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Consultation (in Portuguese *Tratado de Amizade, Cooperação e Consulta*) signed by both countries in 2000, which establishes the Equality Statute (in Portuguese Estatuto de Igualdade). The Statute provides that Brazilian residents in Portugal and Portuguese residents in Brazil should be treated equally as nationals, regarding rights and duties and political rights.

In order to benefit from equality in Portugal, Brazilians should request the recognition and application of the Statute. The applicant should be a resident of Portugal and hold a resident permit, besides holding civilian capacity. If applying for equality of political rights, the additional requirement is being a resident for at least 3 years. All the documents required should be submitted to SEF, where a Commission will analyze the application, and in 30 days issue a report with the approval (or denial) decision.

After the recognition of equality, Brazilian citizens have the same rights and duties as Portuguese citizens, with the exception of Diplomatic protection abroad and the possibility to access great political positions, such as the Prime Minister or the Republic

President.

The presented option became popular among students, who wanted to hold the equality status for paying the same amount of tuition fee as Portuguese at Universities.

In 2021, there were 10 451 requests for the recognition of equality, an increase of 38,8% in relation to the previous year. According to SEF (Estrela et. al, 2022), this amount kept the already existing tendency of growth, considering that since 2016 has been a rise in the number of applications (in 2017, there were just 1 736 requests).

b) Decreto n° 40/2003 - *Acordo Lula*

The Decree n. 40/2003, also called Lula Agreement[151] approved the agreement signed on 11 JULY 2003 by Brazil and Portugal on the reciprocal hiring of the nationals of both countries. The preamble mentions the Friendship Agreement, commented above, and the willingness of both parties to cooperate with themselves considering the need to facilitate the circulation of workers between the two countries.

The first article defines the agreement application for those nationals that, having a work contract approved, move to the other country for a limited period of time, which is the reason why a work visa would be issued, in the period of 60 days.

The beneficiaries would hold the same labor rights as the nationals, are free to transfer part of their income to their countries, and have the possibility to get the visa, which allows the family to have the family reunification visa. Having in mind the agreement also benefited Brazilians who were already in the country, it was announced as a great effort of the President who came to help those in irregular situations.

After 1998, there was a wave of unqualified Brazilian workers entering the country as tourists. In spite of the regular entry, a lot of people were living in an irregular situation, since they were working in Portugal and tourists have no legal permission to that, considering their entrance is authorized to visit the country. Once already in Portugal and after getting a job, they could not apply for a work visa, which led to a lot of people staying without documentation in the country. The Agreement solved the problem of those people living in this situation (Sardinha, 2009).

At that time, the media reported positive news in the sense of the possibility of legalizing immigrants who were already immersed in the job market and lacked

---

[151] Lula is the surname of the Brazilian president at the time the Agreement was signed.

documentation (Agência Brasil, 2003; RTP Notícias, 2005).

3.2 The Brazilian migration waves to Portugal

The relationship between Brazil and Portugal dates back to the XVI century with the colonization of America. Since then, there has been a route of migratory outgoing that naturally was sensitive to the economic, political, and populational changes in both countries. While at the first moment, there was a movement of people within the same political unit, after the Brazilian independence the flux did not change, but rather the qualification of Portuguese that now became immigrants in the new country. At first, the flow of Portuguese migrating to Brazil was much stronger than the reverse way. However, after the 1970s, the direction of this movement shifted, and now a larger influx of Brazilians is heading to the European country.

From the 1980s until the mid-1990s, an intensive movement of Brazilians getting into Portugal was identified and it was called the first wave of Brazilian migration. There was a predominance of middle-class and well-educated people, who were concentrated on the North Coast of the country and had a considerable portion non-active population. The second wave, on the other hand, was the movement that happened at the beginning of the 2000s, in which most of the Brazilians went to Portugal to work and, therefore, were concentrated mostly near Lisbon (Santos, 2016), spread around different sectors (Padilla, 2007) in jobs that required fewer qualifications (Góis et al., 2009).

Góis et al. (2009) questioned if the migration characteristics observed in the period they proposed to study (2003-2008) would be strong enough to constitute a third wave or would be considered still the second, but more intensified. According to them, there was in the first decade of the XXI century the same pattern of flux, which was composed of young adult immigrants that went to Portugal immersed in a labor movement to take the opportunities left in the job market. However, the main difference in that new phase is the feminization of the group.

Fernandes et al. (2021), on the other hand, recognized the above-described movement as the third wave. They defend that the number of migrants increased as a result of the flux intensification, but a new wave was justified due to the diversification of the migrant profile, considering that there were a few more qualified people and a considerable presence of students. According to them, this big influx of people was part of a movement that happened until 2014, when the economic crises were controlled and the country started to recover.

After the crisis (so after 2015), it started to appear signs of economic growth and,

therefore, started again a new movement of migrants, even bigger than the previous one, leading to the fourth wave. According to the authors (Fernandes et al., 2021), that wave ended at the beginning of 2020 with the closure of broaders due to the Covid-19 pandemic, which caused an interruption in the fluxes. One of the elements that worked as a push factor for Brazilians was the 2016 political crisis that caused economic instability and a subsequent increase in unemployment, leading to a loss in the individual perception of security in big cities and a currency devaluation. At the same time, as a pull factor, there was the rumor about the improvement and recovery of the Portuguese economy, apart from all the legislation changes that aimed at facilitating the migration process.

One of the elements of this new wage was the migration of whole families, instead of the previous pattern of one single migrant moving looking for a job. As a result, many families started to plan their migration journey, which also included their children, who would be able to access a good education in public schools and not face issues with the language. Important to say that in many cases, families did not have their plans well organized and were based on - or incentivized by - information gathered in social media or websites that did not demonstrate the reality of the migration scenario (Fernandes et al., 2021). In this last case, the bad planning led to unemployment, the end of survival measures, and naturally, a situation of vulnerability that a lot of times was solved just by programs that supported the return to Brazil.

As will be demonstrated in the following sections, this diversification of the Brazilian migrant profile becomes evident by the different reasons they justify their resident permit. All the reasons have a significant participation and they varied among family reunification, job reasons, studies, certificate of residence (specific for nationals of European Union's countries), and activities of investment.

3.3 Numbers of Brazilians in Portugal

According to the Official Statistics (INE), in 2021 there were 698.536 foreign people living in Portugal with the status of legal residents. Brazilians were 29% of them (204.313), the largest nationality by far (the second position was the British with 41.873 people)[152]. Out of the 111.311 total resident permit applications in 2021, 39.456 were

---

[152] Data retrieved from INE - Instituto Nacional de Estatística. Demographic Indicator: Foreign population with legal status of residence (No.) by Place of residence (NUTS - 2013) and Nationality; Annual. Available at:
https://www.ine.pt/xportal/xmain?xpid=INE&xpgid=ine_indicadores&indOcorrCod=0010247&contexto=bd&selTab=tab2&xlang=en. Last visited: 28 AUG 2023

made by Brazilians, which corresponds to 35% of the total[153]. The importance of Brazilians in the migratory scheme of Portugal is, therefore, undeniable.

Since 2010, Brazilians have had an expressive presence in the immigration scenario. The years that followed the economic crisis faced a decrease in the total number of people applying for the resident permit, an understandable decline that also affected Brazilians. From 2014 to 2017, the participation of them varied from 15% to 18% of the total applications. In 2018, however, the 28.210 Brazilian applications corresponded to 30% of the total and 2019 reached its maximum at 37,8%. In both years 2020 and 2021, the Brazilians were 35%, in spite of the decrease attributed to the pandemic[154]. A solid pattern in all those years was the majority of female applicants among Brazilians. In 2021, as was mentioned, there were a total of 39 456 Brazilian applications and 20.556 of them were made by women (52%).

Regarding the total population, Eurostat presents in its numbers different information. According to the European dataset, in 2021 there were in the country 204 694 valid resident permits issued for Brazilians (233 962 in 2022)[155], a slight difference from the number presented by INE (204 313). The data categorizes the resident permit in 4 reasons: family reasons, education reasons, employment reasons, and other reasons. Following the definition of Eurostat, the category of "other reasons" includes "diplomat, consular officer treated as exempt from control; retired persons of independent means; all other passengers were given limited leave to enter who are not included in any other category; non-asylum discretionary permissions" (EuroStat, 2023). Therefore, looking at those numbers, it is possible to study the variation among the reasons that justified the resident permit in the period of 2013 and 2022. Figure 17 illustrates the variation among the reasons and Figure 18 show the absolute numbers.

---

[153] Data retrieved from INE - Instituto Nacional de Estatística. Demographic Indicator: Foreign population who have applied for resident status (No.) by Place of residence (NUTS - 2013), Sex and Nationality; Annual. Available   at: https://www.ine.pt/xportal/xmain?xpid=INE&xpgid=ine_indicadores&indOcorrCod=0008627&contexto=bd&selTab=tab2&xlang=en. Last visited: 28 AUG 2023

[154] ibidem

[155] Data retrieved from EuroStat. Demographic indicator: All valid permits by reason, length of validity and citizenship on 31 December of each year - MIGR_RESVALID__custom_7263770. Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/MIGR_RESVALID__custom_7263770/default/table?lang=en. Last visited: 28 AUG 2023

Figure 17: All the resident permits issued for Brazilians by reason, in the period of 2013 and 2022
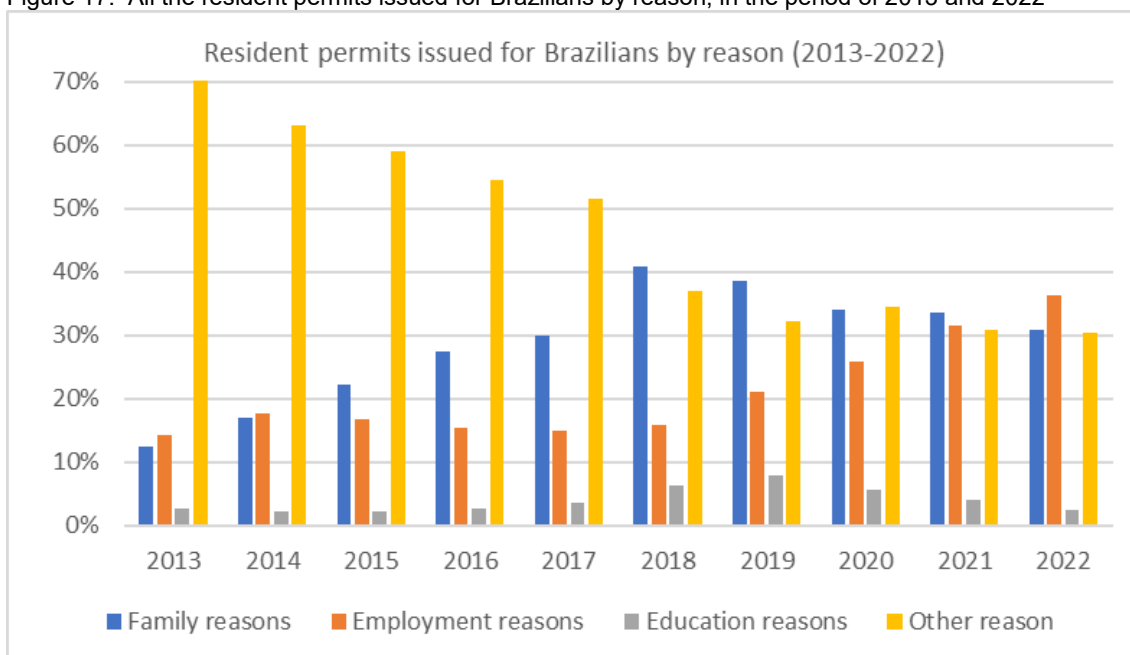
Resident permits issued for Brazilians by reason (2013-2022)

Legend: Family reasons, Employment reasons, Education reasons, Other reason

Source: Eurostat (Indicator: All valid permits by reason, length of validity and citizenship on 31 December of each year [MIGR_RESVALID__custom_7263770]). Graph created by the author.

Figure 18: Resident permits issued for Brazilians by reason, in the period of 2013 and 2022, in absolute numbers.

	Family reasons	Education reasons	Employment reasons	Other reasons	Total
2013	11.501	2.429	13.131	65.048	92.109
2014	14.947	1.991	15.440	55.100	87.478
2015	18.333	1.757	13.753	48.729	82.572
2016	22.337	2.183	12.526	44.184	81.231
2017	25.503	3.077	12.750	44.073	85.404
2018	43.136	6.556	16.736	38.896	105.423
2019	58.451	12.051	31.878	48.648	151.304
2020	62.560	10.518	47.591	63.309	183.993
2021	68.767	8.076	64.506	63.316	204.694
2022	71.909	5.541	85.149	71.318	233.962

Source: Eurostat (Indicator: All valid permits by reason, length of validity and citizenship on 31 December of each year [MIGR_RESVALID__custom_7263770]). Processed by the author.

First of all, the category "other reason" has been losing its power over the years in comparison to the total application. While in 2013, this segment was 70% (65 048) of the total reasons why Brazilians had their permits (total of 92 109), in 2021 this representation dropped to 30,9% (63 316 out of 204 694). Mind observing (Figure 18) that the percentage did not change exclusively due to a decrease in the number of applications based on the reasons covered by that category (note that both years the application is close to 65.000), but also because there was a significant increase in the

number of the total applicants, reducing its representation in comparison to the total. In spite of both years previously presented facing a similar number of permits, there was some variation during the period - the lowest year was 2018 (38.896) and the highest was 2022 (71.318), which percentage was again 30%. It should also be noted that the representation of the others three categories increased during the period.

Important to add that in both figures (figure 17 and 18), the reference of total is related to the total number of resident permits issued just for Brazilians, so the comparison is not with the total foreigners applicants.

The category family reasons, on the other hand, had a significant increase. In 2013, out of the total valid permits, 11.501 (12,5%) were justified on it. Until 2016, its rate was increasing 5% each year, until it got 27,5% (22.337). The highest percentage was seen in 2018, when it covers 40,9% (43.136) of the total (105.423). In 2021, as a matter of comparison, 68.767 resident had their permits based on family reasons and that represented 33,6% of the total.

The education category has a lower expression overall. In 2013, there were just 2.429 permits justified on it, which was 2,6% of the total at that time. The rise started in 2016, when the number jumped from 2.183 (2,6%) to 3.077 (3,6%) in 2017, 6.556 (6,2%) in 2018, and 12.051 (7,9%) in 2019. In 2021, the number was 8.076, which represented 3,9% of the total. The data presented by SEF about the year 2021 shows that 10,8% of the new documents granted to Brazilians was issued for education reason (Estrela et. al, 2022).

The year with fewer people having their permit justified for employment reasons was 2016 (12.526), which represented 15,4% of the total. In the period of 2018 to 2021, there was a considerable increase year by year in the numbers. In 2018, there were 16.736 (15,8%) permits for that reason, followed by 31.878 (21%) in 2019, 47.591 (25,8%) in 2020 and 64.506 (31,5%) in 2021. This number, however, does not show all the people who actually work in the country, since many students manage to have a job while going to university, considering the permission given by Portuguese law.

Looking at the number of resident permits issued each year as the first permit request, allows us to have a broad understanding of the alterations in the migration fluxes, which is easier to see than when we are looking only at the stock of Brazilians in the country. The graph below (Figure 19) helps with that.

Figure 19: First permit issued for Brazilians by reason, in the period of 2013 and 2022
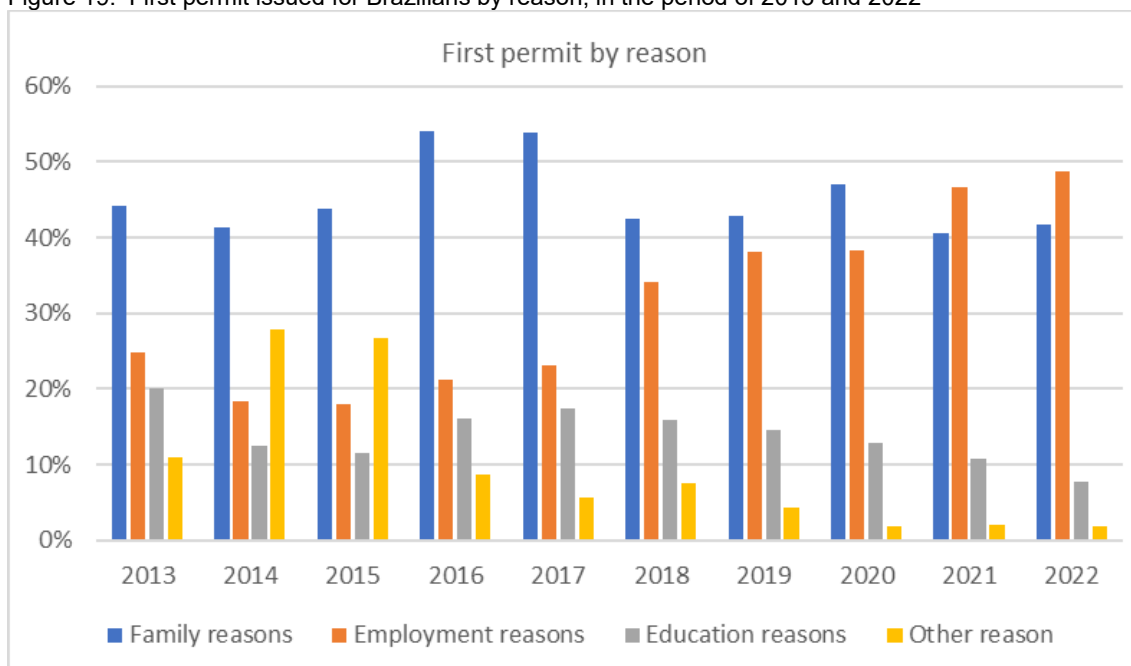
Still following Eurostat, in 2021 there were 39.456 new permits issued. For students, it was 4.242 new permits, 15.994 for family reunification, and 18.382 for employment reasons[156]. The family reunification jumped from 3.818 new permissions in 2016 (54% of the total) to 20.925 in 2019 (42,9% of the total that year). Education followed the same path, growing from 1.133 in 2016 to 7.087 in 2019. The job reason also had a significant rise in absolute numbers, however, the most increase was seen from 2017 to 2018, boosting from 2.665 to 9.626. In 2019, the number almost doubled and reached 18.634, which shows an increase in the number of people who entered the country and went straight to the job market.

Despite an expressive annual increase in the number of people applying for their first permit using employment as their justification, it was not until 2021 that reason overcame those who based their application on family reasons, as it is easily seen in the Figure 19. As an example, in 2017, 23% justified on job reasons, while 53,9% on family. In 2018, this gap changed for 34% and 42%, and just in 2021 there was an inversion in the importance of each category: 46,5% and 40,5%.

For the first resident permit, it is true that family reason have always been a

---

[156] Data retrieved from EuroStat. Demographic indicator: First permits by reason, length of validity and citizenship - MIGR_RESFIRST__custom_7260879. Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/MIGR_RESFIRST__custom_7260879/default/table?lang=en. Last visited: 28 AUG 2023

significant reason that Brazilians justified their application. At the same time, it is also true that the employment reason have been increasing its importance among that nationality. Besides, with the time, fewer Brazillians have being applying their first resident permit based on "other reasons", as it is easily notable in Figure 19. However, looking at the total resident permits issued for Brazilians, we note that "other reasons" still plays an important role, meaning that people might be renewing their already existing permit based on that.

Going by the SEF data, published in the 2021 annual report (Estrela et. al, 2022), this percentage is slightly diverse (see Figure 20 below). The information about Brazilians that year is that 39.456 people had their first permit issued, which was a decrease of 6,6% from the previous year. Out of the total, 44,7% happened for job reasons, 31,1% for family reunification, 10,8% for study reasons, 4,1% for other reasons, and the last 9,3% was justified on the resident certificate that is issued for EU citizens. The inversion mentioned before regarding the importance of job reasons over family reunification, according to SEF happened already in 2019 and then another time in 2021.

Figure 20: First permit issued for Brazilians by reason, in the period of 2019 and 2021 (SEF)
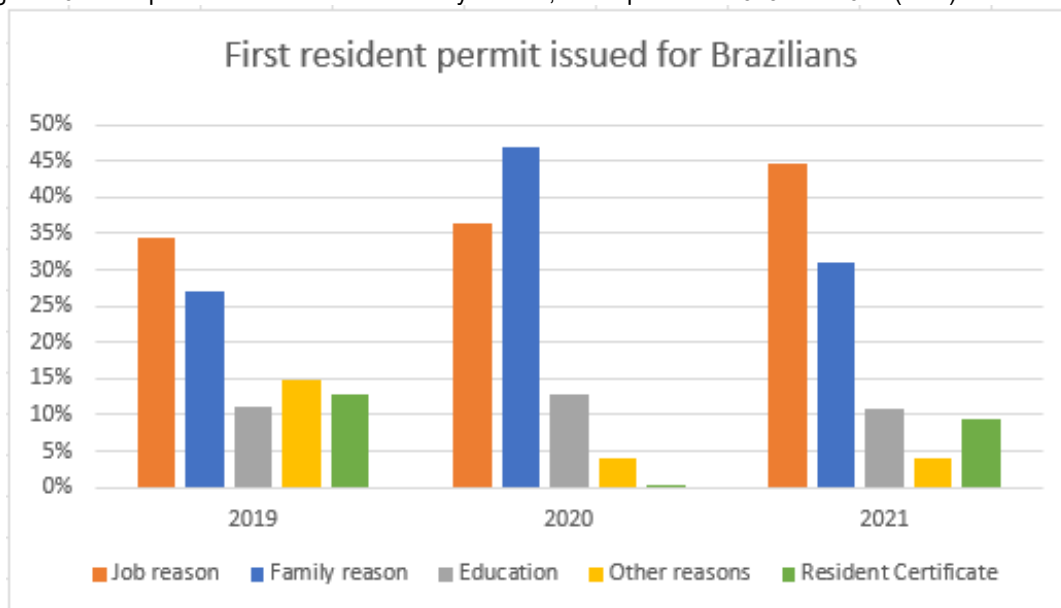
Source: SEF (Annual Report on Immigration - years 2019 to 2021). Graph created by the author.

The main conclusion here is the fact that both employment and family reunification have a strong weight on the reasons why people are actually moving. Note that sometimes family reunification is related to employment, since one member of the family takes the job, and therefore has their permit justified on employment reasons, while their whole family - or just their spouses/children - gets the family reunification

permit. Besides, family reunification is the type of permit that covers the nationals of an extra-EU country who are married to Portuguese citizens and want to live in the country.

Despite presenting info that takes as a basis the nationality, almost 10% of Brazilians had their residence permit based on Resident Certificate, which is a document that is issued just for European Union citizens and their families. This means that a considerable amount of Brazilians were citizens of a EU country, or they were moving to Portugal following their EU citizen[157] family. According to SEF, if an EU citizen moves to Portugal for a period longer than 3 months, they have to ask for a special resident document, and their families can apply for the same type of document, even being from a foreign country. In this category, is important to highlight that in the year 2020, just 0,002% had their application based on it, probably due to Covid, when the fluxes between European Union countries were more restricted.

In all those numbers, there is no registration for the amount of Brazilians who hold dual citizenship and live in Portugal. It is common that the intention behind the willingness to hold dual citizenship is exactly to live in some European country, which might include the plan to migrate to Portugal. The most common European citizenship held by Brazilians, apart from the Portuguese, is the Italian one[158].

Again in 2021, it was analyzed - and approved - the application made by 70 Brazilians for investment activities. The approval of that activity enables the residence permit without the need for a long-term visa, so that is why is not considered in the previous dataset. The investors can take the family to Portugal whose members will also receive a residence permit.

3.3.1 Age group

Following the information given by Eurostat about the population in the country on the 1st January of 2022[159], the majority of the Brazilian population in Portugal was female (54,71% - 111 986 people), keeping the pattern of the previous years (analyzed since 2011), in which women were always in a bigger number than men. The weight of female participation in the population gets higher while the aging group is getting older.

---

[157] The same rule applies for citizens of European Econoomic Area countries and Switzerland.
[158] Data retrieved from EuroStat. Demographic indicator: Acquisition of citizenship by age group, sex and former citizenship - MIGR_ACQ__custom_7272653. Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/MIGR_ACQ__custom_7272653/default/table?lang=en. Last visited: 29 AUG 2023
[159] Data retrieved from EuroStat. Demographic indicator: Population on 1 January by age group, sex and citizenship - MIGR_POP1CTZ__custom_7276141. Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/MIGR_POP1CTZ__custom_7276141/default/table?lang=en. Last visited: 29 AUG 2023

For example, the age group 25-29 is composed of 50,72% of women while the age group 55-59 has 64,6% of female participants, which seems natural considering that the life expectancy of women is higher than men

About the age of Brazilian migrants, 85,4% are within the working age group (15-64). The most populous age group is the 35-39 group with 14,2% of the total population (29.101), followed by 30-34 (28.549), 40-44 (25.424), and 25-29 (23.610). The group 35-39 can be also considered the peak of the population, as can be noticed in the Figure 21, seeing that there is a constant increase in each age group until get to 35-39 and afterward start to constantly decrease again.

Figure 21: Age Pyramid of Brazilian population living in Portugal in 1st January 2022
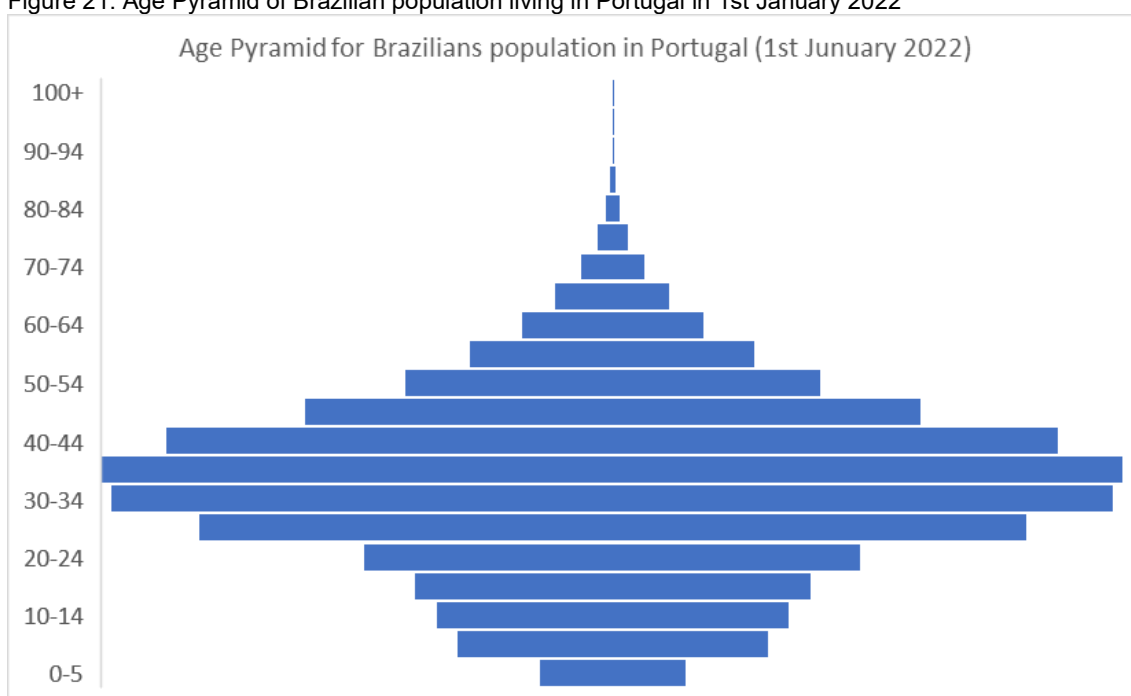
Source: EuroStat (Indicator: Population on 1 January by age group, sex and citizenship - MIGR_POP1CTZ__custom_7276141). Processed by the author.

From the perspective of Portugal population, it might be really helpful that the concentration of Brazilians living in the country happen to be in the "middle" age groups, since they bring with them their workforce and their capacity to consume and spend money in the country.

Likewise, it is important to have a look at the youth population in the country. Having in mind the difficulty of children or minors taking the present route (Brazil-Portugal) by themselves, and arriving alone in Portugal (especially because the route is mostly made by plane), it might be possible to affirm that most of them come with their families. The children less than 15 years were, at the beginning of 2022, a sum of 23.079

people, which represented 11,2% of the total. The number demonstrates the existence of a movement of entire families to the country, which might be a sign that migration flux is facing another profile of migrants. Again, worth mentioning the process of family migration requires a lot of planning.

As mentioned in the first chapter, the aging index in Portugal - relation of elderly (65) over the young population (0-14) - was 181,3 in 2021, meaning there were 181,3 elderly for 100 young. The index for Brazilians living in Portugal in 2021 was 27,97 and 28,93 in 2022, which indicates that Brazilians are significantly younger than the population in the country.

The total population in Portugal is older, the majority are in the group age 45-49[160], while the majority of Brazilians are in a younger group age (35-39), indicating a significant difference between them.

Besides, we can note that the immigrant population is more concentrated in a group age younger than the Brazilian's, considering they are mostly in the group age 30-34, while Brazilians are mostly in the 35-39.

3.3.2 Acquisition of nationality and naturalization

Brazilians are also an important group when we are looking at the acquisition of Portuguese nationality and the process of naturalization: 24% of the total. In 2021, of the total Brazilian acquisitions (13.134), 58% of them were obtained by women (7.714)[161].

Looking at the total number of Brazilians who got the nationality in 2021 (13.134), the main reasons why they obtained the new nationality were by being married (or in a di facto relationship) for longer than 3 years with a Portuguese citizen (4.728); by living in the country for at least 6 years (4.533); and then for being minors born in Portugal, whose mother or father were living in Portugal for at least 6 years (954).

The majority of the acquisition by Brazilians was obtained from applicants residing in Portugal (7.736), especially those who applied because they were living for a long period (4.503). The other part who applied from abroad (5.398) had their reasons justified mostly on the relationship with Portuguese (3.035) and being descendants of

---

[160] Data retrieved from EuroStat. Demographic indicator: Population on 1 January by age group and sex - DEMO_PJANGROUP__custom_6979379. Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/DEMO_PJANGROUP__custom_6979379/default/table?lang=en. Last visited: 07 SEP 2023

[161] Data retrieved from INE - Instituto Nacional de Estatística. Demographic Indicator: Foreign population that acquired portuguese nationality (No.) by Sex, Previous nationality and Type of acquisition of nationality; Annual. Available at: https://www.ine.pt/xportal/xmain?xpid=INE&xpgid=ine_indicadores&indOcorrCod=0008368&contexto=bd&selTab=tab2&xlang=en. Last visited: 06 SEP 2023

Sephardic Jews (1.527).

About 41.685 people got Portuguese nationality by naturalization, from which 15.071 got it from living in the country for at least 6 years. Regarding the Brazilians, 7.186 of them were naturalized Portuguese (so 17,2% of the total), and 4.533 applied justifying being living in the country for 6 years (30% of the total).

Still considering the naturalization, out of the 3.896 women naturalized Portuguese in 2021, 68,5% of them justified on the reason previously mentioned (the long period of residence). In the case of men, this number goes down to 56,5% (1.862 out of 3.290).

According to INE, out of the total 8.650 acquisitions of nationality based on a relationship with Portuguese citizens longer than 3 years, 54,6% of them were obtained by Brazilians. Following the SEF report (Estrela et. al, 2022) about the same data, the Brazilians were 46,1%. Either way, it is a large representation for just one country.

Having in mind that the Israeli situation in the number of people who acquired Portuguese nationality is very specific (they are mostly justified by descendance from Sephardic Jews and they applied from Embassies), we can still consider Brazilians to be a super important group in that matter.

Relating to the theme, it is still worth noting that from the 4.533 Brazilians who got the nationality for having lived in the country for at least 6 years, 4.503 did it while in Portugal. In other words, all those Brazilian residents became Portuguese citizens during the year and, therefore, left (or will leave very soon) the statistics that consider them immigrants, which may be a problem in measuring the exact presence of Brazilians in the country.

3.4 Location of Brazilians in Portugal

Regarding the location of Brazilians in Portugal, they are mostly spread around the continent part, seeing that the number of those who live on the island is not expressive in comparison to the former. As previously mentioned, in 2021 the total foreign population with the legal status of residence was 698 536, and 204 313 of them were Brazilian. Of the total Brazilian population, those in the continent part of the territory were 99% (202 448), while the two archipelagos divided the other 1%: Açores had 0,43% (878 people) and Madeiras had 0,48% (987 people)[162].

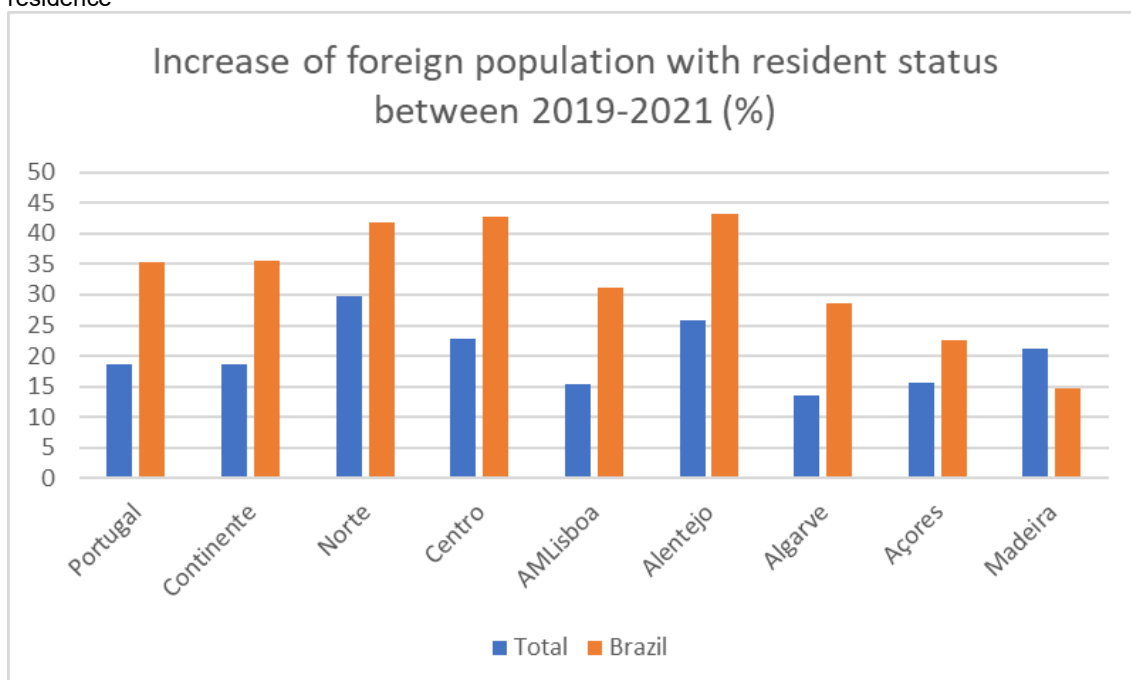In the continent, the majority of Brazilians were concentrated in the Metropolitan

---

[162]Data retrieved from INE - Instituto Nacional de Estatística. Demographic Indicator: Foreign population with legal status of residence (No.) by Place of residence (NUTS - 2013) and Nationality; Annual. Available at: https://www.ine.pt/xportal/xmain?xpid=INE&xpgid=ine_indicadores&indOcorrCod=0010247&contexto=bd&

Area of Lisbon (46,37%), then in the North (23,74%), Centro (16,22%), Algarve (8,56%) and Alentejo (4,18%). Not coincidentally, these first three regions are also the three first regions with more enterprises in the country. The order, however, in this case is North (33,9% of the total), Metropolitan Area of Lisbon (29,1%), and Centro (20,3%)[163].

In comparison to 2019, no region had a decrease in the Brazilian population (Figure 22). On the contrary, 6 out of 7 had a bigger increase in Brazilians than the one experienced by the number of total foreigners. While countrywide the total foreign population increased 18,6% in the mentioned period (2019-2021), the Brazilian's increased by 35,38%.

Figure 22: Percentage of increase between the years 2019-2021 in the foreign population with status of residence

Source: INE (Foreign population with legal status of residence by Place of Residence)
Graph created by the author.

Looking at the individual regions, the most expressive increase was in Alentejo: the Brazilian population rose 43,22% (and the total foreign residents rose 25,85%). The region with the highest difference was the Centro, while the Brazilian population enlarged by 42,66%, the total foreign population rose by 22,84%. The only region that saw a lower

---

selTab=tab2. Last visited: 02 SEP 2023

[163] Data retrieved from INE - Instituto Nacional de Estatística. Demographic Indicator: Enterprises (No.) by Geographic localization (NUTS - 2013) and Economic activity (Subclass - CAE Rev. 3); Annual (3). Available at:
https://www.ine.pt/xportal/xmain?xpid=INE&xpgid=ine_indicadores&indOcorrCod=0008466&contexto=bd&selTab=tab2&xlang=en. Last visited: 06 SEP 2023

increase in Brazilians in comparison to the total number of foreign residents was Madeira. On the island, the number of Brazilians rose by 14,63% while the total number of foreigners rose by 21,28%.

Within each region, there are some cities where there is a concentration of Brazilians. In the North region, just three cities were responsible for accommodating 21,5% of the Brazilian population of the whole region: Braga (7 773) Guimarães (1 292) and Viana do Castelo (1402 people). Important to note in those three cities, Brazilians were almost half of the foreigners registered. In Braga, they were 61%, in Guimarães were 48%, and in Viana do Castelo they were 46,8%.

In the Metropolitan Area of Porto, another important area of Brazilian concentration in the Northern part of the country, they were in 2021 around 50% of the foreign population (28 664 out of the total 57 970). In Porto itself, there were 8 303 Brazilians, in Vila Nova de Gaia 5 799 (out of 10 504) and in Matosinhos 3 441 (out of 6 311).

In the Centro region, Brazilians were most concentrated in the city of Aveiro, where there was a community of 2 598 of a total of 5 829 foreigners, Coimbra, where there were 3 133 Brazilian residents out of 7 995 foreigners, Leiria with 3 752 individuals (total of 7 501) and Viseu Dão Lafões where there were 3 052 Brazilians (6 186 total foreigners). Important to highlight that all Aveiro, Coimbra, and Leiria hold important and prestigious superior educational centers, either Universities or Politecnico.

The Metropolitan Area of Lisbon is where most Brazilian (and foreigners) population live: 46,37% of the total Brazilians and 49,24% of the foreigners. In all cities that compose the area, there is a significant amount of Brazilians. The emphasis is on Cascais (11 074), Lisbon (19 547), and Sintra (11 994). The participation of them in the total foreign population, however, is diverse. On the contrary of the big representation in the cities above mentioned, in Lisbon, the Brazilian weight is not so strong, since they are just 17,9% of the total foreigners. In Cascais, on the other hand, this rate goes to 32,4% and in Sintra goes to 28,2%.

In the region of Alentejo, there were 8 543 Brazilian residents in 2021 with no much expression in any specific city. The highest concentration was in Evora (989), Santarém (900) and Benavente (833). Brazilians were 21,5% of the total foreigner population living in the region.

In the Algarve, however, it is possible to note again the concentration of Brazilians in some specific cities. They were mostly in Albufeira (3 443), Loulé (3 442), Portimão (3 091), and Faro (2 260), which are some of the biggest cities in the region. In any of those

cities, there was an expressive representation of Brazilians in the face of total foreigners, being the highest in Faro (23,2%).

At the islands, as was mentioned, Brazilian participation is not that high. In Açores, they made 19% of the total foreigners (878 out of 4 462), and in Madeira 9,4% (987 out of 10 405). In Açores, the city with the biggest concentration of Brazilians was Ponta Delgada (272), and in Madeira was Funchal (554).

If we look, however, at the data presented by SEF about residents' foreigners, the number of Brazilians are gathered by districts and, then, the concentration is higher in each of the presented regions. This can be explained because the districts presented by SEF gather a set of small cities and villages, and so gather the population in the "main" cities together with its neighbors[164]. Taking as an example Braga and Leiria, instead of having 7 773 and 3 752, respectively, the number of residents jumps to 12 950 and 8 893[165]. In Lisbon district, the residents were 77 110, and in Setubal, there were 24 907, indicating these two districts, both in the Metropolitan Area of Lisbon, were responsible for almost half (49,8%) of the total Brazilian population. Important to note that in each of the districts, there was a larger number of women and men (GEE, 2019).

Looking at those numbers, it is possible to conclude that Brazilians are mostly concentrated in more populated areas, or in regions where there is a higher number of businesses, industries, or tourist activities. In other words, their location is influenced by the job opportunities. Apart from that, there is a tendency for them to gather in urban regions, but also to go where a social network already exists. Likewise, they are in important concentration in cities where we can find universities, as in the case of Coimbra, Porto, Aveiro, Leiria, Faro, Portimão, and Lisbon.

3.5 Workers

As was previously presented, in each wave of migration, there were few characteristics of the migrants arriving in Portugal to work. Since 2000, migration has been based on the job market and, therefore, the allowance of the Government in the entrance of migrants depends, among other things, on the needs of workers. This control, which in some parts of history was not effective, has also been related to the many attempts of the government to regularize migrants (Padilla, 2007).

After entering the European Union, Portugal needed skilled people to work as doctors, dentists, or in marketing. With time and the increase in the investment in public

---

[164] In this specific dataset, SEF divides Portugal into 20 districts.
[165] Information published on SEFSTAT. Page: População Estrangeira Residente em Portugal. Available at: https://sefstat.sef.pt/forms/distritos.aspx. Last visited: 01 SEP 2023

construction, it was needed a less skilled labor force to work on that, so there was a change in the profile of the migrants arriving in the country. At the beginning of the century, there was a proletarianization of Brazilian immigration following the demand of the Portuguese job market. The position they would have in the market would depend on the market itself but also on the characteristics of Brazilian people, such as the skill of dealing with people, which would lead them to positions in bars, restaurants, and stores (Padilla, 2007).

With the economic crisis, there was again a change in this scenario, considering the lots of people leaving the country and a decrease of migrants arriving. This movement, however, is a lot of paradoxical. At the same time many migrants were working in areas that were most affected by the shortage of investments, such as construction and industries, and consequently lost their jobs, many were immersed in sectors that were not altered by external factors, such as those performing domestic jobs, working in health/elderly care or agriculture (Pereira, 2017). The first group were rapidly affected by the crisis, and did not have many more qualifications to apply to other vacancies.

The 2021 SEF report (Estrela et. al, 2022) mentions that as a reason for issuing new resident documents for Brazilians, the 44,7% were based on professional activities, while the family reunification was responsible for 31,1%. The application justified by family reunification, however, does not mean those individuals were not working. Much on the contrary, they often apply for a family reunification visa because it gives them the right to work. The same happen to students (the third most common reason Brazilians applied in 2021 - 10,8%), that, besides the main reason to be in the country is to attend to some educational course, they can also work. Consequently, in spite of less than half of applications being reasoned on professional activities, many more people are actually inserted in the job market.

Padilla (2007) mentioned that often Brazilians do not struggle to find a job, but rather a valid work contract, considering often employers do not want to have a regular contract, which might lead to difficulties in income payment or lack of labor rights.

Apart from that, as was mentioned in the former chapter, there are still a few other possibilities for workers to be in Portugal, even when they are not immersed in the Portuguese market. This is the case of people who come with the intention of investment, but also those who chose Portugal to live, while working remotely to a company based someplace else. Recently, Portugal created a visa for individuals who want to move to

the country to look for a job, which incentivizes and inserts people in the job market.

3.6 Students

Ever since the colonial period, there has been a migration flux of students to the (previous) metropole. In the beginning, it was justified by the lack of superior education in the country, forcing the elite to move overseas to attend the decree. Even after the independence of the country, there was still this tendency, until the flux lost intensity due to the creation of universities in Brazil and the acknowledgment of the possibility of migrating to the US instead of Portugal to attend Universities better ranked than the Portuguese ones, in addition to have the possibility to learn a new language (Alves and Iorio, 2021).

In the first years of the Ciências Sm Fronteiras[166] Portugal was the option for many students who wanted to participate in an exchange program and did not know other languages than Portuguese, so the country started appearing as an option for Brazilian students again. However, as to incentivize the improvement of a new language, the Brazilian Government removed Portugal from the list of the program destinations. That was when some Portuguese Universities decided to accept ENEM (Brazilian National Exam for High School)[167] as a way to access the universities (Alves and Iorio, 2021) in an attempt to call students to choose the country and its Uni.

Important to highlight that the increase of students in superior education is also a way to call young people to get into the job market. The students who are enrolled in a superior degree and hold the student visa, can work full time in the country, being necessary just the communication to SEF about this new activity.

Since the 80s, Brazil has been investing in its higher education, creating new Universities and providing measures for students to access them (e.g. scholarships and financial aid). As a part of this big project, some investments were made in the internationalization of universities that involved not only the creation of policies with this end, but also cooperation regarding the mobility of students. From the Portuguese side, there were still some structural and political changes that ended up to benefit Brazilians to attend Universities there. The economic crisis involving the country started in 2011 caused a decrease in the number of people attending superior education. The result was that the vacancies in Universities also decreased because did not worth keeping the spots (or courses) open without students to participate. As a manner to reverse this

---

[166] Science without Borders (in English) it was a program sponsored by the Brazilian Government to estimulate the internationalization of University students, promoting academic education.
[167] It is not a mandatory exam but it is required to access federal universities.

drought, the Government recommended to Universities the recruitment of international students (Fonseca et al., 2016).

It was promulgated in 2014 a Decree-Law (n. 36/2014) to regulate the recruitment of foreign students. The preamble of the Law states that recruiting that category of students will enable the utilization of the already existing Campus facilities and boost the income of Universities. There is still a mention of the creation of specific scholarships to benefit students from Portuguese-speaking African countries and an explanation of what is considered international students.

In the case of Brazilian students, many benefited by asking the application of the Friendship Treaty in order to have the same rights - therefore paying the same fee - as Portuguese students.

For the academic year 2021/2022 there were 433 217 students enrolled in superior education in Portugal, of which 218 399 were in public institutions and 82 022 private schools.[168] Of those students, 49 916 finished their secondary education abroad and, even attending the new whole cycle in Portugal, are considered students in degree mobility. About 32,8 of them had their previous cycle concluded in Brazil (DGEEC, 2022). For the academic year 2020/2021 there were 56 323 international students enrolled in Portugal institutions, from which 19 060 were Brazilian students (33,8%).

Eurostat provides information presenting that in 2021, an amount of 4 242 Brazilians asked for their first resident permit justifying it for education reasons, which composed 38,8% of the total request based on education. In 2019, however, the number was 7 087, meaning 53% of the total (13 356)[169].

Important to mention that Law 23/2007 authorizes (Article 97) the students to work and develop professional activities, as long as related to the reason that justify the visa. The opportunity given by this authorization allows students to sustain themselves while they are in the country, guaranteeing their permanence there. Looking from other points of view, this authorization also inserts a lot of young people into the job market, contributing to the tax system - either paying direct taxes or spending more money. Should be noted that this path is chosen by many people as a gateway to the country and to the European labor market, since many Universities provide flexible schedules in

---

[168] Data retrieved from DGEEC - Direção Geral de Estatísticas da Educação e Ciência (In English: Statisctical Directory for Education and Science). Estatísticas da Educação 2021/2022. Available at: https://estatisticas-educacao.dgeec.medu.pt/eef/2022/ensino_superior/alunos/inscritos.asp. Last visited 27 AUG 2023

[169] EuroStat. Demographic indicator: First permits by reason, length of validity and citizenship - MIGR_RESFIRST__custom_7260879. Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/MIGR_RESFIRST__custom_7260879/default/table?lang=en. Last visited: 28 AUG 2023

which is possible to attend both courses and have a job.

3.7 Integration of Brazilian into the Portuguese society

It is natural in societies the existence of boundaries, usually created as a symbolic division, in which people categorize others into different groups. These symbolic boundaries evolve into social ones when some groups experience inequalities in accessing opportunities and resources. Belonging to one specific group might dictate the interaction with people from other groups, potentially creating a sort of hierarchy. One of the ways that boundaries can be blurred is through intergroup contact, a process in which people who were previously considered outsiders are now included, and that can be made through contact over an extended period of time, which might reduce prejudice (Miller, 2015).

However, the interaction between migrants and the local population might be promoted and avoided by them at the same time. The limits of those boundaries are not so clear, considering the possibility that part of both groups support their separation, but the other part might want their integration. In other words, some migrants may want to assimilate into the new society, while others want to hold their cultural identity. On the other hand, the local population may want to welcome the newcomers, or not (Epstein, 2010).

The process of integration can cover the social network in which the migrant is inserted, the feeling of being part of that community, and the sociability with other immigrants. In the first case, the importance of having a social network is mostly the assistance in the arrival and the help to find a house or a job; the second involves the adaptation to the new country and new habits and may be influenced by having Portuguese friends or even a family (marriage with Portuguese); the third is related to whom people associate themselves, whether they connected with people who share the same nationality, the host country nationals or other immigrants. (Padilla, 2007).

It is fair to say that a few decades ago, there were strong social boundaries between Portuguese and Brazilians. The high number of Brazilian immigrants, together with the stereotype developed by the media and the popular culture, determined and changed the public perception of the way Brazilians were seen in the country (Rodrigues, 2010), which may interfere in their integration into society.

In spite of the large number of Brazilians in Portugal, there still is a lot of prejudice and the great number leads to a concern they are taking the available jobs from the population. Fernandes et al. (2021) report in their paper a lot of situations where

Brazilians faced discrimination in a varied range of experiences. In the job market, Brazilians would be excluded from the Portuguese shops, not get a contract, and often receive less money than the previously agreed. In schools and Universities, it happened that Portuguese students attacked (physically and verbally) Brazilians, and professors created a tough relationship with their Brazilian students, apart from going against books translated in Brazil or not accepting the Brazilian accent in the classroom.

The language is usually a barrier when moving to a new country. Speaking the language of the destination country is a measure of having contact with the new society and being integrated, in addition to increasing the opportunity to get a job. In the case of Brazilians in Portugal, the language is not a problem for integration, but often the accent might be the reason for some discrimination.

One measure that could be thought of to track this integration is the analysis of the number of acquisitions of nationality by Brazilians based on the relationship (marriage or de facto union) with Portuguese companions. According to the SEF report (Estrela et. al, 2022) out of the 6 644 requests justified for that reason, 46,1% were made by Brazilians (3 064).

The number brought by INE is different[170]. Following the Statistics Institute, 4 728 Brazilians got the Portuguese nationality based on a relationship with a Portuguese citizen, longer than 3 years, from the total of 8 650 required based on that reason, which makes Brazilians represent 54,6% of the total requests. Considering the total number of Brazilian acquisitions (13 134), this cause would represent 36%. Important to note that two-thirds (3 035) of the application based on that reason was made in Consulates or Embassies, and not in Portugal.

Another important feature to mention in this indicator about Brazilians is the gender difference: women were 61,4% of the beneficiaries (2.905) and 40% of them applied for the recognition in Portugal. Looking at the 1.693 Brazilians who acquired the nationality applying from Portugal and based on this reason, 70% of them were women (1.188), which indicates they were living or married in the country.

Considering those numbers based on longer relationships with Portuguese citizens, we could say that women are more integrated than men into Portuguese society, or they have longer and more serious relationships with Portuguese.

---

[170] Data retrieved from INE - Instituto Nacional de Estatística. Demographic Indicator: Foreign population that acquired Portuguese nationality (No.) by Sex, Previous nationality, and Type of acquisition of nationality; Annual. Available at: https://www.ine.pt/xportal/xmain?xpid=INE&xpgid=ine_indicadores&indOcorrCod=0008368&contexto=bd&selTab=tab2&xlang=en. Last visited: 06 SEP 2023

Along with the numbers, the integration of Brazilians as part of the Portuguese community could be seen in "daily life" aspects. As an example, it is possible to mention the ease of finding a great variety of Brazilian food in supermarkets around the country, the existence of restaurants specializing in Brazilian exotic food, the presence of business chains that are exclusively Brazilian, and even the amount of Brazilian churches (as the Evangelical) around the country. Those are factors that help in the integration and adaptation of the newcomers in the new society, since basic elements such as food, the goods you used to buy or the church you used to attend do not need to change.

Sardinha (2009) comments about the importance of Associations in this scenario, which would be responsible for providing a framework in which is possible to preserve the identity and ethnicity of immigrants. In the case of Brazilians, he defends that the creation of associations followed the pattern of the waves of migration, so much so that before the 2000s, most associations were either professional or cultural organizations for supporting activities for the elite. After that, with a more mixed profile of Brazilian migration, many associations and organizations were created to support different activities and sectors, and then it was created associations of students, women, evangelicals, aimed at business, and culture.

Pereira (2017) carried out an interview with Brazilians who moved to Portugal. The majority of the people who replied to the interview have the impression their lives got better after emigrating due to an improvement in their quality of life, considering safety, access to public and good health care, a good public education system, and public transportation.

Considering all the elements brought up above and the great number of nationals, as well as the few possibilities to obtain citizenship and the statute of equality, seeing these last two provide a sort of similarity among members of multicultural backgrounds, it is fair to say we are dealing with a well-integrated community. However, the point is how open the Portuguese society is towards immigrants, and how the immigrants actively act in society and participate in public decisions and public policies.

3.8 Brazilians Population in comparison to the total Immigrant Population

The total immigrant population is mostly gathered in the Metropolitan Area of Lisbon (49,25% of the total), followed by Algarve (15,05%), North (14,33%), and Centro (13,56%). As it was mentioned, the Algarve is an important region for the migration scenario due to its preference for those who want to buy a vacation house or people who

retire and move there. The Brazilians, however, are settled in a different configuration. Most of them are also in the Metropolitan Area of Lisbon (46,37%), then there are in the North region (23,74%), Centro (16,22%), and then Algarve (8,56%). That frame is, mostly, due to the prevalence of the economic factor in the Brazilian decision on why they migrated and where they should live.

According to the SEF report (Estrela et. al, 2022), the most common reason people applied for their resident permit in 2021 was for job reasons (32,2% of the total), family reunification (18,6%), and studies (9,8%). Of course, the order of importance of each reason changes according to the country. In the case of Brazil, the country followed the order of professional activities (44,7%), family reunification (31,1%), and studies (10,8%), showing again there is the similarities between the general immigrants' information and Brazilians. Regarding the gender, however, there is a difference. While the majority of the total applications were made by men (53,8%), the Brazilians were mostly women (52%).

Looking at the stock of the immigrant population, as it was discussed, Brazilians were the great majority (29,3% of the total). The SEF (Estrela et. al, 2022) informs that the group age with more people in it is the 30-34 (12,78%), and the group of 35-39 (11,7%). The Brazilians living in the country are mostly in the group age 35-39 (14,2%) and 30-34 (13,9%)[171]. Comparing both groups, we see there is no huge difference between them, in terms of the percentage of the total population they are referring to.

Regarding the acquisition of nationality, in 2021 the total number of successful procedures was 54 537, most of them based on the decadency of Sephardic Jews (44,6%), for living in Portugal for a period longer than 6 years (37,6%) and then for being married or in a *de facto* relationship with a Portuguese national for more than 3 years (15,8%). In spite of the reasons for Brazilians to acquire the nationality is the same, the order changes. The most common reason for Brazilians is for being in a relationship for more than 3 years with Portuguese nationals (35,9%), for living in the Portuguese territory for at least 6 years (34,5%), and then for being a descendent of Portuguese Sephardic Jews (12,5%).

As it was possible to see during the presentation of the Brazilian numbers in the migration scheme in Portugal, the nationals of that country have a huge influence on the general trends of the migrant population. Having in mind the considerable presence of

---

[171] Data retrieved from EuroStat. Demographic indicator: Population on 1 January by age group, sex and citizenship - MIGR_POP1CTZ__custom_7276141. Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/MIGR_POP1CTZ__custom_7276141/default/table?lang=en. Last visited: 29 AUG 2023

Brazilians in every aspect of the society, in addition to the partial ease with which they can regularly enter the country, communicate, and integrate themselves, it is fair to say that they are the most significant and impactful group of immigrants in the country.

Conclusion

By taking a closer look at the data presented in the chapters above, it is possible to see that many numbers do not precisely match. Each institute or data provider published a different piece of information, even within the same country or regarding the same object of analysis. We should consider that each data provider has its own methods. Yet, we cannot say that those data are not reliable or that the institutes are faking the numbers, but we actually have to consider that we are dealing with information regarding people and their movement, which is difficult to quantify and that might be the cause for the discrepancy. Apart from this, we have also to acknowledge those who enter the country undocumented and, therefore, are not considered for the official statistics, disturbing the numbers presented by the official channels.

This means each one of the people who enter, leave or live in the country has their own motivation, their history, and their background, which allows them to apply for different types of visas, depending on their nationality, or use another type of resident permit, that sometimes exempts them to apply at all. Besides, we are dealing with a dynamic situation, in which people's lives change and so do their destinations or motivations. We have also to consider that nationalities are not rigid and strict, in the sense that it is possible to have more than one, to acquire it throughout life or even to lose it. Therefore, it is recommended that we have a cautious look at all the information before using it, and always proceed to analyze it with a critical and reasonable look.

Portugal is a country with a migration background. Either receiving or sending people. The fluxes between the country and its colonies, which was intensified by their not-so-far independence, together with the end of a dictatorship in Portugal brought a lot of consequences in the migration scenario. A lot of people moved out of Portugal and then returned to the country, together with a lot of migrants who went to the metropolis looking for work. The economy of Portugal got stronger and the sector of public development had lots of investments, creating job vacancies for Portuguese and descendants of Portuguese that were arriving in the country. At the same time the country could be treated as a place of immigrants, Portugal is also seen as a country of emigrants, taking into account the ease with which Portuguese move around, either for their geographical location and links with their previous colonies or for their membership in a Community where the movement of people is stimulated.

In the first chapter, it was presented the demographic characteristics of the Portuguese population based on data provided for the year 2021. According to the National Statistical Institute, the total population of Portugal in that year was 10.421.117

people, of which 698.536 were immigrants, and the majority of the total population was female (52%).

It was seen they are mostly located in urban areas close to the Coast, and at the Census date, 95,2% of the population were living in the Continental part of the country. The elderly (60+) compose 29% of the population, the group age with more people in it is the group age of 45-49. The life expectancy at birth was 81.5 years and the aging index was 181,3, meaning there were 181,3 elderly (+65) for every 100 young (0-14) people. In 2021, people older than 15 who did not have any level of education completed were 5,86% of the total population.

Looking exclusively at the population at the end of the years 2011 and 2021, we see that there was a decrease of 1,31% in residents in the decade. In 2021, the natural increase in the population (births over deaths) was negative (-0,44%). However, the growth rate of the country, at the end of the year was 0,26%, due to the positive migration interference (the crude migratory rate in 2021 was 0,69%). In the period of 2011 to 2022, the crude rate of natural increase was negative every year. The effective increase in population started to be positive in 2019, because that was the year that the migratory rate could manage to be higher enough to surpass the negative effect of the natural increase. In this sense, there is no doubt that the migration has a positive impact on the population growth.

The working-age (15-64) population is 64,1% of the total population, while those older than 65 are 22%. The aging index in the country, the relation of elderly (65+) over young population (0-14) demonstrates that in 2021 there were 181,3 for every 100 young people. The old-age dependency ratio also shows the important participation of the elderly in the population. In this case, calculating the population of elderly over the working age group, we have a ratio of 37,3 in 2021 with a provision to get to 62,8 by 2050. The median age of the population also increased a lot in the past years. While in 1971 was 29,7, in 2021 was 45,8 and the provisional age to 2050 is 51,2. All those pieces of information bring concern regarding the aging population and the dependency they have on working-age people, considering the burden of the pension system and that this last group is not growing fast enough to sustain the system.

To introduce the second chapter, it is worth mentioning the importance of the migrants within the Portuguese context. The United Nations estimates that there was in 2020 a stock of 2.081.419 Portuguese living abroad, and around 1.001.963 immigrants living in Portugal, which reinforces the scenario above mentioned. The precise number of Portuguese emigrants is difficult to track, considering they are not obliged to inform

the country they are moving out, which leads to a misidentification of people. Although INE presents that in 2021 there were 25.079 permanent emigrants and 40.904 temporary emigrants. The reason why they migrate is also not clear, but the official information is they mostly head to European Union countries and the UK.

In 2013, out of the permanent emigrants, 17.941 of them (33,3%) went to countries outside the EU while others 34.232 (63,6%) moved within the EU. In 2014, 16.418 moved out-EU (33,1%) and 33.096 (66,7%) moved within the European Union. Looking at the temporary emigrants, the percentage of those who decided to move to countries outside the Community was higher. In 2013, 30.212 people (40,65%) moved temporarily to countries that were not part of the EU while in 2014, 30.197 (35,5%) did the same. In conclusion, we can see that among the emigrants who decided to leave the country in 2013 and 2014 in the direction of a non-EU country, the biggest number preferred to do it temporarily, which is understandable considering the crisis scenario. Looking at the permanent emigrants of 2021, the majority were male (60%), headed to European Union countries (51,4%), and 47,6% of them had superior education completed, an increase compared to the year 2014 (29%), indicating that more qualified people are leaving the country. The temporary emigrants were also mostly men (53%), heading to the EU countries (65%).

The emigration background led the Portuguese to be the most populous nationality in Luxembourg (93.659 Portuguese, 14,5% of the country's total population[172]), the second largest group in Switzerland (around 255.236 Portuguese[173]), and the third in France (601.762[174]). Another important gathering of Portuguese is in Angola, where 130.000 people born in Portugal live[175].

The official number of people living in Portugal with a legal status of resident was 698.536, and the most common reason people migrated to the country was job-related reasons, followed by family reunification and then studies. The majority of them live in the Metropolitan Area of Lisbon, except for the British who are mostly in Algarve. Their nationality is diverse, but there is a concentration of some: there are 204.313 people from Brazil, 41.873 from the UK, 33.979 from Cape Verde, 30.819 from Italy, 30.248 from India, 28.592 from Romania, 27.139 from Ukraine, and 25.683 Angolans. The stock of immigrants is more concentrated in the age group 30-34 (89.338), 35-39 (81.909), and then 25-29 (80.686), and they are mostly men (51,4%).

---

[172] Data from the Statistical Office from Luxemburg
[173] Data from the Swiss Federal Statistical Office
[174] Data from the French Statistical Office
[175] Data from Observatory of Emigration from Portugal

Categories such as permanent immigrant or permanent emigrant are strict concepts that aim to fit dynamic situations and so, many data can be involuntarily masked, taking into consideration the possibility of people going under the radar of statistics or official measures. For this reason, indicators such as net migration might not elucidate the real numbers they intend to, even though it is still useful to understand the current scenario of migration. In 2021, the net migration of the country was 72.040, maintaining the period's tendency of increase.

Another important indicator is that in 2021, 13,58% (10.808 children) of the children born in the country were born from a mother citizen of a country different than Portugal. However, the indicator does not show from which nationality.

Regarding Portuguese citizenship, it was shown that 54.537 people acquired it in 2021, out of which 24.516 were residents of Portugal. As said, this means that all those people that were registered as immigrants, went out of that stats, since they became nationals. Of the total amount, the great participation of Brazilians and Israelis should be noted: they together are responsible for 62% of acquisitions. The Israeli acquisition is mostly based on the descendance of Sephardic Jews, while the Brazilian are varied among living in the country for at least 6 years, being in a de facto relationship or marriage with a Portuguese for more than 3 years, and also based on their descendance of Sephardic Jews.

Considering the great importance of Brazilians when we are talking about immigrants in Portugal, the third chapter was devoted to them. As mentioned, in 2021, there were 204.313 Brazilians with legal status of residents (more than 29% of the total immigrants). Of the new applications for resident permits in 2021, 35% of them (39.456 out of 111.311) were made by Brazilians. Apart from those numbers, it is known that some Brazilians are in the country registered with their second nationality, and so, are hidden from these statistics, which means the real number of residents is higher.

The Brazilians living in the country are mostly female (54,7%) and the majority live in the Metropolitan Area of Lisbon (46,3%) and in the North region (23,7%). All of them are benefited from a few agreements that the countries have with each other, including one that allows Brazilians to apply for the recognition of equality to Portuguese.

Around 85,4% of the Brazilian migrants in Portugal are within the working-age (15-64) group, and the most populous age group is 35-39 (29.101 people), followed by 30-34 (28.549 people), and the aging index for them was 27,9 in 2021, indicating that Brazilians are much younger than the total population in the country.

The migration of Brazilians to the country happened in different waves, in which the main variations were the location people were heading and the qualifications of the people in it. These waves led to the presence of many qualified and unqualified people, as well as a great presence of students and people who followed their families (and then applied for family reunification visas). In 2021, 44,7% of the resident permits issued for Brazilians were based on job reasons, 31,1% on family reunification, and 10,8% on educational purposes. In the past few years, both family reunification and job reasons have been the most common reasons people apply for their permits. Important to note that in the three categories above mentioned, people can work legally in the country. Therefore, in spite of the permit being granted based on family reunification or studies, those individuals can actually be workers.

About Brazilians, it is fair to say they are well-integrated within Portuguese society. We can affirm that based on the number of marriages between them and Portuguese citizens, the presence in the country of Brazilian chain stores, churches, and football team organizations, apart from the ease of finding Brazilian food in supermarkets, small shops, and specialized restaurants. Discriminatory episodes exist and are spread in many levels/institutions of society (Universities, schools, and job market), however, this does not prevent Brazilians from migrating or does not seem to be episodes aimed strictly at Brazilians on a recurring basis.

We could notice that immigration is part of the population growth in the country, which faces not only a negative natural growth but also a constant flow of emigration. It is fair to say that Portugal depends on migration to keep its population growing and also to financially maintain the aged population, which is already a reality in the country.

Looking at the stock of immigrants, we see that in 2021 most of them were in the group age of 30-34 and 35-39, which indicates a population of reproductive age that will be still working for a considerable amount of years, also considering that the immigrants in the working age group are 76,4% of the total population who immigrate to the country. Even with these numbers, Portugal is still a country where its total population is concentrated in the group 45-49 and is aging. The people who leave the country, however, are younger. They are mostly concentrated in the group age 25-29 and 20-24. Therefore, without migration, the country would be much older, with a negative increase in the population and a more condensed number of births.

Analyzing just the working-age population, the data provided by INE and Eurostat shows that in 2021, there were in Portugal an amount of 6.601.650 people in this group, while the immigrants in the group were 535.566. This means that 8,1% of the working-

age population in the country was composed of immigrants. If we consider the same indicators but now for people over 65, the participation of immigrants drops to 2,57%.

Comparing the old-age dependency ratio of the Portuguese population and the foreign population, it is easily noticeable that the dependency of the Portuguese is much higher than the foreigners. While in the general population, the old-age dependency was 38[176] in 2022, the dependency ratio for foreigners was 11,76[177] for the same year, indicating that in this last group, the working-age population is much higher in comparison to the elderly. Besides, only in 2018, did the foreigner's old-age and child dependency ratio meet each other, while in the Portuguese scenario, this had happened already in 2000.

Looking at the age pyramids of the total Portuguese population and the one of the foreigners, is clear that the foreigner population is younger than the Portuguese. While for the foreigners, the age group division is clearer, having a wider length in the middle age groups, in the Portuguese pyramid, there is not a bigger distinction between the age groups, having in mind the older groups have still a significant role in the pyramid.

Therefore, it is fair to say that there is a positive participation of the immigrants in the population, since they are not weighing the elderly community in the country, but rather the working-age population. Important to point out that this group (working-age) is exactly where the country needs its population to be concentrated. Besides, many of the elderly immigrants are entering and living in the country to spend their retirement, which pensions are mostly received from another country, and so they are not a burden for the Portuguese pension system. This is the case of the British who, considering the exchange rate, have a high pension in comparison to Portugal, and then to go the country, especially to the Algarve, to spend their retirement.

Based on the INE data, the immigrants composed 6,7% of the population in 2021. In spite of that, their participation in each region's population is not equal. While in Açores they are just 1,8% of the population, in the Algarve they are 22,3%. Seeing they impact differently in the population, it is not possible to draw a standard conclusion about the matter. In the region with the majority of the population (North - 3.609.978) the immigrants are just 2,7% of them (100.084).

Even though the majority of the immigrants are men (359.862 people), the Portuguese population is mostly female. This distinction of gender on immigrants might

---

[176] Data provided by INE
[177] Data provided by EuroStat

have a good impact on the population, considering that if a greater number of immigrants were women, the imbalance would interfere even more negatively with the population.

Finally, it is relevant to inform that, based on the UN provisions, almost 10% of the population of Portugal is composed of immigrants, out of which the majority are within the working age group. Likewise, it was possible to identify that the population in the country is aging and the majority of the emigrants are concentrated in groups aged 25-29 and 20-24, meaning young people are leaving and creating a stronger burden on the working population that remains in the country.

The country, however, does not have developed public policies to keep this young generation, preventing them from leaving, and so there is not much incentive for them to stay. It is true that was launched a program calling emigrants to return and offering some benefits, however, it is focused on those who already have a life outside Portugal. It might even seem contradictory to facilitate visa processes and to incentivize migration when there is no incentivization for the young people who are leaving the country to stay.

This paper tried to answer the question "How do the migration dynamics of Portugal influence the demographic profile of the country?" and, for that, it was based on doctrines and research already made about the topic, in addition (or mostly) to the data provided by the statistical institutions. The result is that not every aspect of the population is changed by the immigrants. The distribution of the population, for example, is not. However, if we look at the gender distribution of immigrants and the prevalence of the male gender, we might see that immigration is having a good impact on the population, since it is working on the balance of the gender distribution.

And what might be the most important of all, is that migration is certainly supporting population growth, either by inserting people into the country and compensating the emigration or by surpassing the negative effects of natural growth.

In this flux of immigration, the country should pay attention to avoid the exchange of qualified people for unqualified. As it was noted, in 2021, 47,6% of permanent emigrants had superior education completed. In spite of not having a precise indicator of this percentage among permanent immigrants, it is well known that after migration, there is a tendency for people to downgrade their professional skills to adapt to the job vacancies that are offered to them. It would be worth investing, then, in broadening the opportunity for young and qualified professionals giving them space to use their qualifications in the country. Surely, the increase in the visas issued for job-related reasons is an implication that maybe a change in that direction is already happening, but

of course, there are still many things that can be done. In reality, every measure to keep or attract a working force should be welcome.

Finally, it should be recognized the effort that Portugal has taken to strengthen its relationship with its previous colonies and some benefits the nationals from those countries have when migrating to the ex-metropole. Actually, exactly for being a maritime power during the Great Navigation period and the colonies that were left as an inheritance, might be an explanation for being such an active place for migratory fluxes, open to offer different types of visas and receive immigrants. Note that other European countries whose population is also aging and might need young people and a working force as much as Portugal, did not have this colonial background and now struggle to welcome immigrants.

There is no doubt that immigrants should be welcome, and their migration and settlement in the country should be incentivized, especially in the present case where they are potentially working and financially contributing to the country. However, this does not depend exclusively on the country itself, but also on the existing population to welcome and respect them.

Bibliography

Abreu, Alexandre, and João Peixoto. *Demografia, Mercado de Trabalho e Imigração de Substituição: Tendências, Políticas e Prospectiva No Caso Português.* Análise Social 44, no. 193 (2009): 719–46. Available at: http://www.jstor.org/stable/41012747.

Agência Brasil. News: Lula e Durão Barroso assinam acordo para regularizar situação de brasileiros em Portugal. Published on: 11 JUL 2003. Available at: https://memoria.ebc.com.br/agenciabrasil/noticia/2003-07-11/lula-e-durao-barroso-assinam-acordo-para-regularizar-situacao-de-brasileiros-em-portugal. Last accessed: 07 SEP 2023

Alves, Elisa and King, Russell. *Student Mobilities.* In: Introduction to Migration Studies. Springer, 2022. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-92377-8_11. Last accessed: 10 AUG 2023

Alves, Elisa da Palma, and Juliana Iorio. *Da mobilidade estudantil à mobilidade social: os estudantes angolanos, brasileiros e cabo verdianos em Portugal*. In: Finisterra, 2021: 221-239. Available at: http://hdl.handle.net/10451/50571. Last visited: 22 AUG 2023

Alves, Elisa, and Russell King. *Between international student and immigrant: A critical perspective on Angolan and Cape Verdean students in Portugal*. In: Reimagining the Higher Education Student. Routledge, 2021. 223-239. Available from: https://library.oapen.org/bitstream/handle/20.500.12657/52778/9781000358766.pdf?sequence=1#page=244. Last visited: 22 AUG 2023

Belloni, Michele; Brugiavini, Agar; Meschi, Elena; Pasini, Giacomo. Does training help retaining older workers into employment? Evidence from the SHARE survey. In: Ageing in Europe : Supporting Policies for an Inclusive Society, 2015. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110444414. Accessed: 03 AUG 2023

Candeias, Pedro; Malheiros, Jorge; Marques, José Carlos; Liberato, Ermelinda. *Portuguese Emigration to Angola (2000–2015): Strengthening a Specific Postcolonial Relationship in a New Global Framework?* In: New and Old Routes of Portuguese Emigration. Springer, 2019. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-15134-8_11. Last visited: 16 AUG 2023

Cardoso, Daniela de Almeida. *Imigração : medidas legais que regem a imigração brasileira em Portugal*. Universidade de Lisboa - Instituto Superior de Economia e Gestão, 2020. Available at: http://hdl.handle.net/10400.5/20700. Last visited 05 SEP 2023

CPLP - Comunidade dos Países de Língua Portuguesa. Organização - Objectivos. Available at: https://cplp.org/id-2763.aspx. Last visited 06 AUG 2023

Czaika, Mathias, Reinprecht, Constantin. *Migration Drivers: Why Do People Migrate?*, in: Introduction to Migration Studies. Springer, 2022. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-92377-8_3. Last visited: 09 AUG 2023

Demography. *In: Oxford Learner's Dictionary.* Available at: https://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/definition/english/demography?q=demography

DGEEC - Direção Geral de Estatísticas da Educação e Ciência. Estatísticas da Educação 2021/2022. Available at: https://estatisticas-educacao.dgeec.medu.pt/eef/2022/ensino_superior/alunos/inscritos.asp. Last visited 27 AUG 2023

DGEEC - Direção Geral de Estatísticas da Educação e Ciência. Page: RAIDES21: Principais resultados - Inscritos 2021/2022. Indicator: Principais resultados do RAIDES 21 – Inscritos e Mobilidade Internacional 2021/2022, 2022. Available at: https://www.dgeec.mec.pt/np4/1398.html. Last visited 27 AUG 2023

Duszczyk, Maciej; Matuszczyk, Kamil. *Labour Market Security and Migration-related Decisions: Theoretical Background* in: Why Do People Migrate?, Emerald Publishing

Limited, 2019. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1108/978-1-83867-747-320191002, Last visited: 07 AUG 2023

Epstein, Gil .S. *Chapter 2 Informational Cascades and the Decision to Migrate, in:* Migration and Culture (Frontiers of Economics and Globalization, Vol. 8), Emerald Group Publishing Limited, 2010. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1108/S1574-8715(2010)0000008008. Last visited: 09 AUG 2023

Epstein, Gil S. and Gang, Ira N., *Chapter 1 Migration and Culture*, in: Migration and Culture (Frontiers of Economics and Globalization, Vol. 8), Emerald Group Publishing Limited, 2010. https://doi.org/10.1108/S1574-8715(2010)0000008007. Last accessed: 08 AUG 2023

Esteves, Sandra; et. al. *Relatório de Imigração, Fronteiras e Asilo 2019.* SEF - Serviços de Estrangeiros e Fronteiras, 2020. Available at: https://sefstat.sef.pt/forms/relatorios.aspx. Last visited: 25 SEP 2023

Estrela, Joaquim; et. al. *Relatório de Imigração, Fronteiras e Asilo 2021.* SEF - Serviços de Estrangeiros e Fronteiras, 2022. Available at: https://sefstat.sef.pt/forms/relatorios.aspx. Last visited: 28 AUG 2023

European Commission. Eurydice - Portugal. Available at: https://eurydice.eacea.ec.europa.eu/pt-pt/national-education-systems/portugal/portugal#:~:text=7%20%E2%80%93%20Mestrado).-,Etapas%20do%20sistema%20de%20ensino,aos%2018%20anos%20de%20idade). Last visited: 27 JUL 2023.

European Commission. *Financial assistance to Portugal.* Available at: https://economy-finance.ec.europa.eu/eu-financial-assistance/euro-area-countries/financial-assistance-portugal_en. Last accessed: 06 AUG 2023.

Eurostat. *Ageing Europe - statistics on pensions, income and expenditure.* Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php?title=Ageing_Europe_-_statistics_on_pensions,_income_and_expenditure#Pensions. Accessed on: 03 AUG 2023

Eurostat. *Ageing Europe - statistics on population developments*. Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php?title=Ageing_Europe_-_statistics_on_population_developments#Older_people_.E2.80.94_population_overview. Last visited: 31 JUL 2023

EuroStat. *Ageing Europe - statistics on working and moving into retirement.* Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php?title=Ageing_Europe_-_statistics_on_working_and_moving_into_retirement&oldid=581874. Last visited: 01 AUG 2023

Eurostat. Demographic indicator: *Acquisition of citizenship by age group, sex and former citizenship - MIGR_ACQ__custom_7155586.* Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/MIGR_ACQ__custom_7155586/default/table?lang=en. Last visited: 14 AUG 2023

Eurostat. Demographic indicator: Acquisition of citizenship by age group, sex and former citizenship - MIGR_ACQ__custom_7460097. Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/MIGR_ACQ__custom_7460097/default/table?lang=en. Last visited: 14 SEP 2023

EuroStat. Demographic indicator: Acquisition of citizenship by age group, sex and former citizenship - MIGR_ACQ__custom_7272653. Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/MIGR_ACQ__custom_7272653/default/table?lang=en. Last visited: 29 AUG 2023

EuroStat. Demographic indicator: *All valid permits by reason, length of validity and citizenship on 31 December of each year - MIGR_RESVALID__custom_7263770.* Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/MIGR_RESVALID__custom_7263770/default/table?lang=en. Last visited: 28 AUG 2023

Eurostat. Demographic indicator: *Demographic balances and indicators by type of projection.* Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/proj_19ndbi/default/table?lang=en. Last visited: 31 JUL 2023

Eurostat. Demographic indicator: *Demographic balances and indicators by type of projection - PROJ_19NDBI__custom_7085094.* Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/PROJ_19NDBI__custom_7085094/ default/table?lang=en. Last visited: 03 AUG 2023

Eurostat. Demographic indicator: *Demographic balances and indicators by type of projection - PROJ_19NDBI__custom_7051858.* Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/PROJ_19NDBI__custom_7051858/ default/table?lang=en. Last visited: 31 JUL 2023

Eurostat. Demographic indicator: *Demographic balances and indicators by type of projection - PROJ_19NDBI__custom_7059876.* Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/PROJ_19NDBI__custom_7059876/ default/table?lang=en. Last visited: 01 AUG 2023

Eurostat. Demographic indicator: *Employment rates by sex, age and citizenship (%) - LFSA_ERGAN__custom_7065583.* Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/LFSA_ERGAN__custom_7065583/d efault/table?lang=en. Last visited: 01 AUG 2023

EuroStat. Demographic indicator: *First permits by reason, length of validity and citizenship - MIGR_RESFIRST__custom_7260879.* Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/MIGR_RESFIRST__custom_72608 79/default/table?lang=en. Last visited: 28 AUG 2023

Eurostat. Demographic indicator: *Foreign-born population.* Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/TPS00178/default/table?lang=en&ca tegory=demo.demo_pop. Last visited: 18 JUL 2023

EuroStat. Demographic indicator: *General government gross debt.* Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/SDG_17_40__custom_2193722/boo kmark/table?lang=en&bookmarkId=fef0c906-5609-4e2c-9a0f-692e93535757. Last visited: 04 AUG 2023

EuroStat. Demographic indicator: *Gross domestic product (GDP) at market prices - annual data.* Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/TIPSAU10/default/table?lang=en&ca tegory=tips.tipsgd. Last visited: 04 AUG 2023

Eurostat. Demographic indicator: *Immigration by age group, sex and citizenship - MIGR_IMM1CTZ__custom_7164874.* Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/MIGR_IMM1CTZ__custom_716487 4/default/table?lang=en. Last visited: 14 AUG 2023

EuroStat. Demographic indicator: *Infant mortality by age and sex.* Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/DEMO_MINFS/default/table?lang=e n&category=demo.demo_mor. Last visited: 18 JUL 2023

EuroStat. Demographic indicator: *Life expectancy by age and sex.* Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/DEMO_MLEXPEC__custom_69644 59/default/table?lang=en. Last visited: 20 JUL 2023.

EuroStat. Demographic indicator: *Live births by mother's age and citizenship.* DEMO_FACZC__custom_6927708. Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/DEMO_FACZC__custom_6927708/ default/table?lang=en. Last visited: 18 JUL 2023.

EuroStat. Demographic indicator: *Live births by mother's age and newborn's sex.* DEMO_FASEC__custom_6927551. Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/DEMO_FASEC__custom_6927551/ default/table?lang=en. Last visited: 18 JUL 2023

EuroStat. Demographic indicator: *Mean age of women at childbirth and at birth of first child - TPS00017__custom_7016972.* Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/TPS00017__custom_7016972/default/table?lang=en. Last visited: 26 JUL 2023.

Eurostat. Demographic indicator: *Old-age-dependency ratio.* Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/TPS00198/default/table?lang=en&category=demo.demo_ind. Last visited: 28 JUL 2023

Eurostat. Demographic indicator: *Pensions beneficiaries at 31st December.* Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/spr_pns_ben/default/table?lang=en. Last visited: 03 AUG 2023

Eurostat. Demographic Indicator: *Population by age group.* Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/tps00010/default/table?lang=en. Last visited: 28 JUL 2023.

Eurostat. Demographic indicator: *Population by sex, age, citizenship and labour status (1 000) - LFSA_PGANWS__custom_7065721.* Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/LFSA_PGANWS__custom_7065721/default/table?lang=en. Last visited: 01 AUG 2023

EuroStat. Demographic indicator: *Population change - Demographic balance and crude rates at national level.* Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/DEMO_GIND__custom_2025739/bookmark/table?lang=en&bookmarkId=4921e6cf-0ac0-47c7-9c02-f382da80cb34. Last visited: 18 JUL 2023

Eurostat. Demographic indicator: Population on 1 January by age and sex. Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/DEMO_PJAN/default/table?lang=en&category=demo.demo_pop. Last visited: 15 AUG 2023

EuroStat. Demographic indicator: *Population on 1 January by age group and sex - DEMO_PJANGROUP__custom_6966363.* Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/DEMO_PJANGROUP__custom_6966363/default/table?lang=en. Last visited: 20 JUL 2023

EuroStat. Demographic indicator: Population on 1 January by age group, sex and citizenship - MIGR_POP1CTZ__custom_7582725. Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/MIGR_POP1CTZ__custom_7582725/default/table?lang=en. Last visited: 26 SEP 2023.

EuroStat. Demographic indicator: Population on 1 January by age group, sex and citizenship - MIGR_POP1CTZ__custom_7626255. Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/MIGR_POP1CTZ__custom_7626255/default/table?lang=en. Last visited: 30 SEP 2023

EuroStat. Demographic indicator: Population on 1 January by age group, sex and citizenship - MIGR_POP1CTZ__custom_7275463. Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/MIGR_POP1CTZ__custom_7275463/default/table?lang=en. Last visited: 28 AUG 2023

EuroStat. Demographic indicator: Population on 1 January by age group and sex - DEMO_PJANGROUP__custom_6979379. Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/DEMO_PJANGROUP__custom_6979379/default/table?lang=en. Last visited: 07 SEP 2023

EuroStat. Demographic indicator: Population on 1 January by age group, sex and citizenship - MIGR_POP1CTZ__custom_7276141. Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/MIGR_POP1CTZ__custom_7276141/default/table?lang=en. Last visited: 29 AUG 2023

Eurostat. Demographic indicator: *Population on 1 January by broad age group and sex - DEMO_PJANBROAD__custom_7048759.* Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/DEMO_PJANBROAD__custom_7048759/default/table?lang=en. Last visited: 31 JUL 2023

Eurostat. Demographic indicator: *Population on 1 January by broad age group, sex and other typologies - URT_PJANAGGR3__custom_7008222.* Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/URT_PJANAGGR3__custom_7008 222/default/table?lang=en. Last visited: 25 JUL 2023

Eurostat. Demographic indicator: *Population structure indicators at national level - DEMO_PJANIND__custom_7051331.* Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/DEMO_PJANIND__custom_705133 1/default/table?lang=en. Last visited: 31 JUL 2023

Eurostat. Demographic Indicator: *Proportion of population aged 65 and over.* Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/tps00028/default/table?lang=en. Last visited: 28 JUL 2023.

EuroStat. Demographic indicator: *Real GDP per capita.* Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/sdg_08_10/default/table. Last visited: 04 AUG 2023

Eurostat. Demographic indicator: *Self-employment by sex, age and citizenship (1 000) - LFSA_ESGAN__custom_7065589.* Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/LFSA_ESGAN__custom_7065589/d efault/table?lang=en. Last visited: 02 AUG 2023

EuroStat. Demographic indicator: *Total Fertility Rate.* Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/TPS00199/default/table?lang=en&ca tegory=demo.demo_fer

EuroStat. Demographic indicator: *Total unemployment rate.* Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/TPS00203/default/table?lang=en&ca tegory=labour.employ.lfsi.une. Last visited: 02 AUG 2023

EuroStat. Demographic indicator: *Total unemployment rate.* Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/TPS00203__custom_2026003/book mark/table?lang=en&bookmarkId=965d44d8-4caf-4d87-9347-2eb71a8a93db. Last visited: 04 AUG 2023

EuroStat. *Facts and figures on life in the European Union.* Available at: https://european-union.europa.eu/principles-countries-history/key-facts-and-figures/life-eu_en#:~:text=By%20surface%20area%2C%20France%20is,country%20and%20M alta%20the%20smallest. Last accessed: 04 AUG 2023

EuroStat. Metadata: Residence permits (migr_res), 2023. Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/cache/metadata/en/migr_res_esms.htm. Last visited: 28 AUG 2023

EuroStat. *NUTS - NOMENCLATURE OF TERRITORIAL UNITS FOR STATISTICS - Background*. Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/web/nuts/background. Last visited: 25 JUL 2023

Faini, Riccardo and Venturini, Alessandra. *Chapter 5 Development and Migration: Lessons from Southern Europe*, in: Migration and Culture (Frontiers of Economics and Globalization, Vol. 8). Emerald Group Publishing Limited, 2010. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1108/S1574-8715(2010)0000008011. Last visited: 09 AUG 2023

Federico, Veronica, Baglioni, Simone. Europe's Legal Peripheries: Migration, Asylum and the European Labour Market, In: Migrants, Refugees and Asylum Seekers' Integration in European Labour Markets. Springer, 2021. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-67284-3_1. Last accessed: 09 AUG 2023

Fernandes, Duval; Peixoto, João; and Oltramari, Andrea Poleto. *A quarta onda da imigração brasileira em Portugal: uma história breve.* In: Revista Latinoamericana De Poblácion, 15(29), 34–63, 2021. https://doi.org/10.31406/relap2021.v15.i2.n29.2. Last visited: 04 SEP 2023.

Fonseca, Maria L.; Pereira, Sonia. *Migration of Ukrainian Nationals to Portugal: The Visibility of a New Migration Landscape*. In: Ukrainian Migration to the European Union. Springer, 2016. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-41776-9_11. Last visited:

16 AUG 2023

Fonseca, Maria Lucinda; Pereira, Sara; Iorio, Juliana Chatti. *Chapter 14: International Mobility of Brazilian Students to Portugal: The Role of the Brazilian Government and University Strategies in Portugal.* In: Global Change and Human Mobility. Springer, 2016. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-10-0050-8_14. Last accessed: 25 AUG 2023

Füredi, Frank. *Population and Development : a Critical Introduction.* Polity press, 1997.

GEE - Gabinete de Estratégia e Estudos. Page: População Estrangeira com estatuto legal de residente em Portugal - Brasil. Available at: https://www.gee.gov.pt/pt/lista-publicacoes/estatisticas-de-imigrantes-em-portugal-por-nacionalidade/paises/Brasil/4017-populacao-estrangeira-com-estatuto-legal-de-residente-em-portugal-brasil/file. Last visited: 04 SEP 2023

German Federal Statistical Office. Dataset: *12411-0009: Population: Germany, reference date, gender, age groups, nationality.* Available at: https://www-genesis.destatis.de/genesis/online?operation=previous&levelindex=2&step=2&titel=Tabellenaufbau&levelid=1692012807544&acceptscookies=false#abreadcrumb. Last visited: 14 AUG 2023

German Federal Statistical Office. Dataset: *12711-0007: Migration between Germany and foreign countries: Germany, years, citizenship.* Available at: https://www-genesis.destatis.de/genesis//online?operation=table&code=12711-0007&bypass=true&levelindex=1&levelid=1692012022499#abreadcrumb. Last visited: 14 AUG 2023

Góis, Pedro and Marques, José Carlos. *Retrato de um Portugal migrante: a evolução da emigração, da imigração e do seu estudo nos últimos 40 anos.* In: e-cadernos CES [Online], 29 - 2018. CES - Centro de Estudos Sociais da Universidade de Coimbra, 2018. Available at: https://doi.org/10.4000/eces.3307. Last visited: 16 AUG 2023

Góis, Pedro. *Emigração cabo-verdiana para (e na) Europa e sua inserção em mercados de trabalho locais: Lisboa, Milão, Roterdão*. Alto-Comissariado para a imigração e minorias étnicas (ACIME), 2006. ISBN 989-8000-22-8. Available at: https://www.om.acm.gov.pt/documents/58428/179891/5_PG.pdf/2fc2a5b7-4010-4f00-9e2f-c53ab8173742. Last visited: 22 AUG 2023

GÓIS, Pedro; Marques, José Carlos; Padilla, Beatriz; Peixoto, João. *Segunda ou terceira vaga? As características da imigração brasileira recente em Portugal*, in Revista Migrações - Número Temático Migrações entre Portugal e América Latina, Outubro 2009, n.º 5, Lisboa: ACIDI, pp. 111-133, 2009. Available at: https://www.repository.utl.pt/bitstream/10400.5/26692/1/Migr5_Sec1_Art6-1PEIXOTO.pdf. Last visited: 04 SEP 2023

Greer, Scott L., et al. Ageing and Health : the Politics of Better Policies. Cambridge University Press, 2021. Press. doi:10.1017/9781108973236. Available at: https://directory.doabooks.org/handle/20.500.12854/90914. Last visited: 02 AUG 2023

Haas, Hein de. *A theory of migration: the aspirations-capabilities framework. Comparative Migration Studies* 9, article 8, 2021. https://doi.org/10.1186/s40878-020-00210-4. Last visited: 13 SEP 2023

Healy, Claire. Cidadania portuguesa: a nova lei da nacionalidade de 2006. Estudos Observatório da imigração - 45, 2011. ISBN 978-989-685-013-5. Available at: https://www.om.acm.gov.pt/documents/58428/177157/Estudo45_WEB.pdf/258cd87 4-463a-4bfd-b928-036878fc7999. Last accessed: 18 AUG 2023

Huang, G., Guo, F., Zimmermann, K.F. *et al. The effect of the COVID-19 pandemic on life expectancy in 27 countries. Sci Rep* 13, 8911 (2023). https://doi.org/10.1038/s41598-023-35592-9. Last visited: 21 JUL 2023

INE - Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas. Demographic Indicator: *Flujo de inmigración procedente del extranjero por semestre, sexo, grupo de edad y nacionalidad.*

Available at: https://www.ine.es/jaxiT3/Datos.htm?t=24389. Last visited: 14 AUG 2023.

INE - Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas. Demographic Indicator: *Flujo de inmigración procedente del extranjero por semestre, sexo, grupo de edad y país de nacimiento.* Available at: https://www.ine.es/jaxiT3/Datos.htm?t=24390. Last visited: 14 AUG 2023.

INE - Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas. Demographic Indicator: *Población residente por fecha, sexo, grupo de edad y país de nacimiento.* Available at: https://www.ine.es/jaxiT3/Datos.htm?t=56937. Last visited: 14 AUG 2023

INE - Instituto Nacional de Estatísicas. *Census 2021 - Provisional Results.* Available at: https://www.ine.pt/xportal/xmain?xpid=INE&xpgid=ine_destaques&DESTAQUESdest_boui=526271534&DESTAQUESmodo=2. Last visited: 27 JUL 2023

INE - Instituto Nacional de Estatísicas. Demographic Indicator: *Ageing ratio (No.) by Place of residence (NUTS - 2013); Annual.* Available at: https://www.ine.pt/xportal/xmain?xpid=INE&xpgid=ine_indicadores&indOcorrCod=0008258&contexto=bd&selTab=tab2. Last visited: 31 JUL 2023

INE - Instituto Nacional de Estatísticas. Demographic Indicator: *Births (No.) of Enterprises by Geographic localization (NUTS - 2013) and Economic activity (Division - CAE Rev. 3); Annual (3).* Available at: https://www.ine.pt/xportal/xmain?xpid=INE&xpgid=ine_indicadores&indOcorrCod=0008642&contexto=bd&selTab=tab2&xlang=en. Last visited: 05 AUG 2023

INE - Instituto Nacional de Estatísicas. Demographic indicator: *Concentration index of the resident population in cities (%) by Place of residence (NUTS - 2013).* Available at: https://www.ine.pt/xportal/xmain?xpid=INE&xpgid=ine_indicadores&indOcorrCod=0008305&contexto=pi&selTab=tab0. Last visited: 25 JUL 2023

INE - Instituto Nacional de Estatísicas. Demographic indicator: *Crude birth rate (‰) by Place of residence (NUTS - 2013); Annual.* Available at: https://www.ine.pt/xportal/xmain?xpid=INE&xpgid=ine_indicadores&indOcorrCod=0008264&contexto=bd&selTab=tab2&xlang=en. Last visited: 27 JUL 2023

INE - Instituto Nacional de Estatísicas. Demographic indicator: *Crude death rate (‰) by Place of residence (NUTS - 2013); Annual.* Available at: https://www.ine.pt/xportal/xmain?xpid=INE&xpgid=ine_indicadores&indOcorrCod=0008265&contexto=bd&selTab=tab2&xlang=en. Last visited: 27 JUL 2023

INE - Instituto Nacional de Estatísicas. Demographic Indicator: *Crude migratory rate (%) by Place of residence (NUTS - 2013); Annual.* Available at: https://www.ine.pt/xportal/xmain?xpid=INE&xpgid=ine_indicadores&indOcorrCod=0008253&contexto=bd&selTab=tab2&xlang=en. Last visited: 23 AUG 2023

INE - Instituto Nacional de Estatísicas. Demographic Indicator: *Crude rate of natural increase (%) by Place of residence (NUTS - 2013); Annual.* Available at: https://www.ine.pt/xportal/xmain?xpid=INE&xpgid=ine_indicadores&indOcorrCod=0008263&contexto=bd&selTab=tab2&xlang=en. Last visited: 23 AUG 2023

INE - Instituto Nacional de Estatísicas. Demographic Indicator: *Crude rate of increase (%) by Place of residence (NUTS - 2013); Annual.* Available at: https://www.ine.pt/xportal/xmain?xpid=INE&xpgid=ine_indicadores&indOcorrCod=0008262&contexto=bd&selTab=tab2&xlang=en. Last visited: 28 JUL 2023

INE - Instituto Nacional de Estatísticas. Demographic indicator: *Cties (No.) by Geographic localization (NUTS - 2013); Annual.* Available at: https://www.ine.pt/xportal/xmain?xpid=INE&xpgid=ine_indicadores&indOcorrCod=0008069&contexto=bd&selTab=tab2. Last visited: 24 JUL 2023

INE - Instituto Nacional de Estatísticas. Demographic Indicator: *Emigrantes permanentes (N.º) por Local de residência futura (Grupos de países); Anual.* Available at:

https://www.ine.pt/xportal/xmain?xpid=INE&xpgid=ine_indicadores&indOcorrCod=0006053&contexto=bd&selTab=tab2. Last visited: 11 AUG 2023

INE - Instituto Nacional de Estatísticas. Demographic Indicator: *Emigrantes permanentes (N.º) por Nacionalidade (Grupos de países); Anual.* Available at: https://www.ine.pt/xportal/xmain?xpid=INE&xpgid=ine_indicadores&indOcorrCod=0006052&contexto=bd&selTab=tab2&xlang=en. Last visited: 11 AUG 2023

INE - Instituto Nacional de Estatísticas. Demographic Indicator: *Emigrantes temporários (N.º) por Local de residência futura (Grupos de países); Anual.* Available at: https://www.ine.pt/xportal/xmain?xpid=INE&xpgid=ine_indicadores&indOcorrCod=0007305&contexto=bd&selTab=tab2. Last visited: 11 AUG 2023

INE - Instituto Nacional de Estatísticas. Demographic Indicator: *Emigrantes temporários (N.º) por Nacionalidade (Grupos de países); Anual.* Available at: https://www.ine.pt/xportal/xmain?xpid=INE&xpgid=ine_indicadores&indOcorrCod=0007304&contexto=bd&selTab=tab2. Last visited: 11 AUG 2023

INE - Instituto Nacional de Estatísticas. Demographic Indicator: *Enterprises (No.) by Geographic localization (NUTS - 2013) and Economic activity (Subclass - CAE Rev. 3); Annual (3).* Available at: https://www.ine.pt/xportal/xmain?xpid=INE&xpgid=ine_indicadores&indOcorrCod=0008466&contexto=bd&selTab=tab2&xlang=en. Last visited: 06 SEP 2023

INE - Instituto Nacional de Estatísticas. Demographic Indicator: *GVA generated by tourism as a proportion of total GVA (Base 2016 - %); Annual.* Available at: https://www.ine.pt/xportal/xmain?xpid=INE&xpgid=ine_indicadores&indOcorrCod=0009965&contexto=bd&selTab=tab2&xlang=en. Last visited: 05 AUG 2023

INE - Instituto Nacional de Estatísticas. Demographic Indicator: *Foreign population with legal status of residence (No.) by Place of residence and Nationality; Annual.* Available at: https://www.ine.pt/xportal/xmain?xpid=INE&xpgid=ine_indicadores&indOcorrCod=0001236&contexto=bd&selTab=tab2&xlang=en. Last visited: 21 AUG 2023

INE - Instituto Nacional de Estatística. Demographic Indicator: *Foreign population with legal status of residence (No.) by Place of residence (NUTS - 2013) and Nationality; Annual.* Available at: https://www.ine.pt/xportal/xmain?xpid=INE&xpgid=ine_indicadores&indOcorrCod=0010247&contexto=bd&selTab=tab2. Last visited: 28 AUG 2023.

INE - Instituto Nacional de Estatística. Demographic Indicator: *Foreign population who have applied for resident status (No.) by Place of residence (NUTS - 2013), Sex and Nationality; Annual.* Available at: https://www.ine.pt/xportal/xmain?xpid=INE&xpgid=ine_indicadores&indOcorrCod=0008627&contexto=bd&selTab=tab2&xlang=en. Last visited: 28 AUG 2023

INE - Instituto Nacional de Estatística. Demographic Indicator: *Foreign population who have applied for resident status (No.) by Sex; Annual.* Available at: https://www.ine.pt/xportal/xmain?xpid=INE&xpgid=ine_indicadores&indOcorrCod=0001230&contexto=bd&selTab=tab2. Last visited: 21 AUG 2023.

INE - Instituto Nacional de Estatística. Demographic Indicator: *Foreign population that acquired portuguese nationality (No.) by Sex, Previous nationality and Type of acquisition of nationality; Annual.* Available at: https://www.ine.pt/xportal/xmain?xpid=INE&xpgid=ine_indicadores&indOcorrCod=0008370&contexto=bd&selTab=tab2. Last visited: 06 SEP 2023

INE - Instituto Nacional de Estatísticas. Demographic Indicator: *Old-age dependency ratio (No.) by Place of residence (NUTS - 2013); Annual.* Available at: https://www.ine.pt/xportal/xmain?xpid=INE&xpgid=ine_indicadores&indOcorrCod=0008259&contexto=bd&selTab=tab2&xlang=en. Last visited: 28 JUL 2023

INE - Instituto Nacional de Estatísticas. Demographic Indicator: *Old-age dependency ratio (No.) by Sex; Annual.* Available at:

https://www.ine.pt/xportal/xmain?xpid=INE&xpgid=ine_indicadores&indOcorrCod=0 001271&contexto=bd&selTab=tab2. Last visited: 28 JUL 2023

INE - Instituto Nacional de Estatísticas. Demographic Indicator: *Olive oil produced (hl) by Geographic localization (Agrarian region), Type of oil press unit, Degree of acidity and Type of extraction system; Annual.* Available at: https://www.ine.pt/xportal/xmain?xpid=INE&xpgid=ine_indicadores&indOcorrCod=0 000709&contexto=pi&selTab=tab0&xlang=en. Last visited: 25 JUL 2023

INE - Instituto Nacional de Estatísticas. Demographic Indicator: *Parishes (No.) by Geographic localization (NUTS - 2013); Annual.* Available at: https://www.ine.pt/xportal/xmain?xpid=INE&xpgid=ine_indicadores&indOcorrCod=0 008070&contexto=pi&selTab=tab0&xlang=en. Last visited: 25 JUL 2023

INE - Instituto Nacional de Estatísticas. Demographic Indicator: *Permanent emigrants (No.) by Age; Annual.* Available at: https://www.ine.pt/xportal/xmain?xpid=INE&xpgid=ine_indicadores&indOcorrCod=0 006051&contexto=bd&selTab=tab2. Last visited: 11 AUG 2023

INE - Instituto Nacional de Estatísticas. Demographic Indicator: Permanent emigrants (No.) by Sex; Annual. Available at: https://www.ine.pt/xportal/xmain?xpid=INE&xpgid=ine_indicadores&indOcorrCod=0 006050&contexto=bd&selTab=tab2&xlang=en. Last visited: 07 AUG 2023

INE - Instituto Nacional de Estatísticas. Demographic Indicator: Permanent immigrants (No.) by Sex, Age and Birthplace; Annual. Available at: https://www.ine.pt/xportal/xmain?xpid=INE&xpgid=ine_indicadores&indOcorrCod=0 006057&contexto=bd&selTab=tab2. Last visited: 21 AUG 2023.

INE - Instituto Nacional de Estatísticas. Demographic Indicator: *Population´s density (No./ km²) by Place of residence (NUTS - 2013); Annual.* Available at: https://www.ine.pt/xportal/xmain?xpid=INE&xpgid=ine_indicadores&indOcorrCod=0 008337&contexto=pi&selTab=tab0&xlang=en. Last visited: 25 JUL 2023

INE - Instituto Nacional de Estatísticas. Demographic Indicator: *Proportion of resident population with 15 and more years old without any level of education completed (%) by Place of residence at Census date [2021] (NUTS - 2013) and Sex; Decennial* https://www.ine.pt/xportal/xmain?xpid=INE&xpgid=ine_indicadores&indOcorrCod=0 011656&contexto=bd&selTab=tab2&xlang=pt. Last visited: 27 JUL 2023.

INE - Instituto Nacional de Estatísticas. Demographic indicator: *Resident population in cities (No.) by Place of residence (NUTS - 2013).* Available at: https://www.ine.pt/xportal/xmain?xpid=INE&xpgid=ine_indicadores&indOcorrCod=0 008306&contexto=bd&selTab=tab2&xlang=en. Last visited: 25 JUL 2023

INE - Instituto Nacional de Estatísticas. Demographic Indicator: *Resident population (No.) by Place of residence at Census date [2021], Age group and Household status; Decennial.* Available at: https://www.ine.pt/xportal/xmain?xpid=INE&xpgid=ine_indicadores&indOcorrCod=0 011755&contexto=bd&selTab=tab2&xlang=en. Last visited: 13 JUL 2023

INE - Instituto Nacional de Estatísicas. Demographic Indicator: *Resident population (No.) by Place of residence at Census date [2021] (NUTS - 2013), Sex, Age group and Highest completed level of education; Decennial.* Available at: https://www.ine.pt/xportal/xmain?xpid=INE&xpgid=ine_indicadores&indOcorrCod=0 011697&contexto=bd&selTab=tab2. Last visited: 27 JUL 2023

INE - Instituto Nacional de Estatísticas. Demographic indicator: *Resident population (No.) by Place of residence (NUTS - 2013), Sex and Age; Annual.* Available at: https://www.ine.pt/xportal/xmain?xpid=INE&xpgid=ine_indicadores&indOcorrCod=0 007307&contexto=bd&selTab=tab2. Last visited: 24 JUL 2023

INE - Instituto Nacional de Estatísticas. Demographic Indicator: *Resident population (No.) by Place of residence, Sex and Age group; Annual.* Available at: https://www.ine.pt/xportal/xmain?xpid=INE&xpgid=ine_indicadores&indOcorrCod=0

004163&contexto=pi&selTab=tab0&xlang=en. Last visited: 13 JUL 2023

INE - Instituto Nacional de Estatísticas. Demographic indicator: *Resident population (No.) by Place of residence (at the Census 2021 moment), Sex, Age group and Nationality; Decennial.* Available at: https://www.ine.pt/xportal/xmain?xpid=INE&xpgid=ine_indicadores&indOcorrCod=0 011627&selTab=tab0. Last visited: 13 JUL 2023

INE - Instituto Nacional de Estatísticas. Demographic Indicator: *Small towns (No.) by Geographic localization (NUTS - 2013); Annual.* Available at: https://www.ine.pt/xportal/xmain?xpid=INE&xpgid=ine_indicadores&indOcorrCod=0 008071&contexto=pi&selTab=tab0&xlang=en. Last visited: 25 JUL 2023

INE - Instituto Nacional de Estatísicas. Demographic Indicator: *Surviving spouses (No.) by Place of residence of deceased spouse (NUTS - 2013), Sex and Marriage modality; Annual.* Available at: https://www.ine.pt/xportal/xmain?xpid=INE&xpgid=ine_indicadores&indOcorrCod=0 008163&contexto=bd&selTab=tab2&xlang=en. Last visited: 26 JUL 2023

INE - Instituto Nacional de Estatísticas. Demographic Indicator: *Temporary emigrants (No.) by Age group; Annual.* Available at: https://www.ine.pt/xportal/xmain?xpid=INE&xpgid=ine_indicadores&indOcorrCod=0 007303&contexto=bd&selTab=tab2. Last visited: 11 AUG 2023

INE - Instituto Nacional de Estatísticas. Demographic Indicator: *Temporary emigrants (No.) by Sex; Annual.* Available at: https://www.ine.pt/xportal/xmain?xpid=INE&xpgid=ine_indicadores&indOcorrCod=0 007302&contexto=bd&selTab=tab2. Last visited: 11 AUG 2023

INE - Instituto Nacional de Estatísticas. Demographic Indicator: *Total dependency ratio (No.) by Sex; Annual.* Available at: https://www.ine.pt/xportal/xmain?xpid=INE&xpgid=ine_indicadores&indOcorrCod=0 002720&contexto=bd&selTab=tab2&xlang=en. Last visited: 28 JUL 2023

INE - Instituto Nacional de Estatísticas. Demographic indicator: *Total fertility rate (No.) by Place of residence (NUTS - 2013); Annual.* Available at: https://www.ine.pt/xportal/xmain?xpid=INE&xpgid=ine_indicadores&indOcorrCod=0 008274&contexto=bd&selTab=tab2. Last visited: 27 JUL 2023

INE - Instituto Nacional de Estatísticas. Demographic Indicator: *Unemployed population (No.) by Place of residence at Census date [2021] (NUTS - 2013), Sex, Age group and Highest completed level of education; Decennial.* Available at: https://www.ine.pt/xportal/xmain?xpid=INE&xpgid=ine_indicadores&indOcorrCod=0 011700&contexto=bd&selTab=tab2&xlang=en. Last visited: 27 JUL 2023

INE - Instituto Nacional de Estatísticas. Demographic Indicator: *Unemployment rate (Series 1998 - %) by Place of residence (NUTS - 2002) and Sex; Annual (1).* Available at: https://www.ine.pt/xportal/xmain?xpid=INE&xpgid=ine_indicadores&indOcorrCod=0 000650&contexto=bd&selTab=tab2&xlang=en. Last visited: 23 AUG 2023

INE - Instituto Nacional de Estatísticas. Demographic Indicator: *Unemployment rate (Series 2021 - %) by Place of residence (NUTS - 2013) and Age group; Annual.* Available at: https://www.ine.pt/xportal/xmain?xpid=INE&xpgid=ine_indicadores&indOcorrCod=0 011305&contexto=bd&selTab=tab2&xlang=en. Last visited: 07 AUG 2023

INE - Instituto Nacional de Estatísticas. Demographic Indicator: Unemployment rate of foreigner active population of extra-community countries (Series 2021 - %); Annual. Available at: https://www.ine.pt/xportal/xmain?xpid=INE&xpgid=ine_indicadores&indOcorrCod=0 011308&contexto=bd&selTab=tab2. Last visited: 23 AUG 2023

INE - Instituto Nacional de Estatísicas. Demographic Indicator: *Wine production declared in grape must (hl) by producers by Vinification location (NUTS - 2013) and Quality and*

color of wine (New regulation); Annual. Available at: https://www.ine.pt/xportal/xmain?xpid=INE&xpgid=ine_indicadores&indOcorrCod=0 008236&contexto=pi&selTab=tab0&xlang=en. Last visited: 25 JUL 2023

INE - Instituto Nacional de Estatísticas. Demographic Indicator: *Young-age dependency ratio (No.) by Sex; Annual.* Available at: https://www.ine.pt/xportal/xmain?xpid=INE&xpgid=ine_indicadores&indOcorrCod=0 001282&contexto=bd&selTab=tab2. Last visited: 28 JUL 2023

INE - Instituto Nacional de Estatísticas. *Detalhes do conceito: 4394 - Nomenclatura das Unidades Territoriais para fins estatísticos.* Available at: https://smi.ine.pt/Conceito/Detalhes/3879. Last visited: 25 JUL 2023

INE - Instituto Nacional de Estatísticas. Metadata - Definition. *Concept: OLD-AGE DEPENDENCY RATIO.* Available at: https://www.ine.pt/bddXplorer/htdocs/minfo.jsp?var_cd=0001271&lingua=EN. Last visited: 28 JUL 2023

INE - Instituto Nacional de Estatísticas. Metadata - Definition. Concept: *PERMANENT EMIGRANT.* Available at: https://www.ine.pt/bddXplorer/htdocs/minfo.jsp?var_cd=0006051&lingua=EN: 11 AUG 2023

INE - Instituto Nacional de Estatísticas. Metadata - Definition. Concept: *TEMPORARY EMIGRANT.* Available at: https://www.ine.pt/bddXplorer/htdocs/minfo.jsp?var_cd=0007302&lingua=EN: 11 AUG 2023

INE - Instituto Nacional de Estatísticas. *The main data about the Census of 2011.* Available at: https://www.ine.pt/bddXplorer/htdocs/widgetCensosGet.jsp. Last visited: 20 JUL 2023

Institut national de la statistique et des études économiques. *Homepage.* Available at: https://www.insee.fr/en/accueil. Last visited: 15 AUG 2023

Institut national d'études démographiques. *Table: Immigrants by country of birth in 2020.* Available at: https://www.ined.fr/en/everything_about_population/data/france/immigrants-foreigners/countries-birth-immigrants/. Last visited: 15 AUG 2023

International Organization for Migration - UN Migration. Page: World Migration Report 2022. Available at: https://worldmigrationreport.iom.int/wmr-2022-interactive/#:~:text=The%20current%20global%20estimate%20is,over%20the%20past%20five%20decades. Last visited: 26 SEP 2023

Jackson, Richard. *The global aging preparedness index: a new tool for assessing how well prepared countries are for global aging. In: Paper n. 17 (2011): Counter Aging Policies - European Papers on the new welfare.* Available at: http://eng.newwelfare.org/2011/07/17/the-global-aging-preparedness-index-a-new-tool-for-assessing-how-well-prepared-countries-are-for-global-aging/. Last accessed: 21 JUL 2023

Kornstad, Tom, et al. *Why Do Immigrants to Norway Leave the Country or Move Domestically? Some Important Facts*, in: People's Movements in the 21st Century - Risks, Challenges and Benefits. InTech, 2017. doi:10.5772/66951. Last visited: 08 AUG 2021

Leeson, George W. *Editorial: The Importance of Demography.* Journal of Population Ageing, vol. 4, no. 1-2, 2011, pp. 1–4. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1007/s12062-011-9041-9.

Lopes, João Teixeira. *Chapter 6 - Migrating to Complete Transitions: A Study of High-Skilled Youth Migration to France.* In: New and Old Routes of Portuguese Emigration: Uncertain Futures at the Periphery of Europe., Springer Nature, 2019. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-15134-8. Last visited: 14 AUG 2023

Machado, Rui; et. al. *Relatório de Imigração, Fronteiras e Asilo 2020.* SEF - Serviços de

Estrangeiros e Fronteiras, 2021. Available at: https://sefstat.sef.pt/forms/relatorios.aspx. Last visited: 25 SEP 2023

Magnus, George. Coming of Age: United States, Japan, and Europe. In The Age of Aging, 2012. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1002/9781119207702.ch5. Last accessed: 03 aug 2023

Marques, José Carlos, and Góis, Pedro. *A emigração portuguesa contemporânea e o Estado: uma Nação dispersa, um Estado longínquo.* In: CEPESE - População e Sociedade vol. 22, 2014. Available at: http://hdl.handle.net/10400.8/1424. Last visited: 10 AUG 2023

Marques, José Carlos. *Chapter 9 - Entrepreneurship among Portuguese Nationals in Luxembourg.* In: New and Old Routes of Portuguese Emigration: Uncertain Futures at the Periphery of Europe., Springer Nature, 2019. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-15134-8. Last visited: 14 AUG 2023

Marques, Teresa et al. *To be born is to age: an evolutionary and territorial demographic perspective in the construction of the future of Portugal.* GOT, nr. 10 – *Geography and Spatial Planning Journal* (December 2016). Centro de Estudos de Geografia e Ordenamento do Território, p. 207-231. Available at: dx.doi.org/10.17127/got/2016.10.010.

Mazzuco Stefano and Campostrini, Stefano. (2022) Life expectancy drop in 2020. Estimates based on Human Mortality Database. Plos one 17(1): e0262846, 2022. https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0262846. Last visited: 31 AUG 2023

McGarrigle, Jennifer. *Lifestyle Migration*. In: Introduction to Migration Studies. Springer, 2022. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-92377-8_10. Last visited: 10 AUG 2023

Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Economia - Portugal. Available at: https://ue.missaoportugal.mne.gov.pt/pt/portugal/sobre-portugal/economia. Last visited: 04 AUG 2023

Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Vistos - CPLP. Available at: https://vistos.mne.gov.pt/pt/vistos-nacionais/documentacao-instrutoria/cplp. Last visited: 18 AUG 2023

Muenstermann, Ingrid. *Introductory Chapter: People's Movements in the 21st Century, in:* People's Movements in the 21st Century - Risks, Challenges and Benefits. InTech, 2017. Crossref, doi: 10.5772/67209.

Nolasco, Carlos. *Migrações internacionais: conceitos, tipologia e teorias,* In: Oficina do CES n° 434. Centro de Estudos Sociais - Universidade de Coimbra, 2016. Available at: https://ces.uc.pt/pt/publicacoes/outras-publicacoes-e-colecoes/oficina-do-ces/numeros/oficina-434. Last accessed: 10 AUG 2023

Observatório da Emigração. Return of emigrants to Portugal. Available at: https://observatorioemigracao.pt/np4EN/1450/. Last visited: 13 AUG 2023.

OECD (2023), *Working age population* (indicator). doi: 10.1787/d339918b-en (Accessed on 21 July 2023)

OECD.Stat. International Migration Database - Inflow of foreign population by nationality. Available at: https://stats.oecd.org/Index.aspx?DataSetCode=MIG. Last visited: 14 AUG 2023

OECD.Stat. International Migration Database - Stock of foreign-born population by country of birth. Available at: https://stats.oecd.org/Index.aspx?DataSetCode=MIG. Last visited: 14 AUG 2023

Officer for National Statistics. Dataset: Population by country of birth and nationality (Discontinued after June 2021). Available at: https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/populationandmigration/internationalmigration/datasets/populationoftheunitedkingdombycountryofbirthandnationality. Last visited: 14 AUG 2023

Officer for National Statistics. Dataset: Population of the UK by country of birth and

nationality: individual country data (Discontinued after June 2021). Available at: https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/populationandmigration/internationalmigration/datasets/populationoftheunitedkingdombycountryofbirthandnationalityunderlyingdatasheets. Last visited: 14 AUG 2023

Oliveira, Catarina Reis de. Indicadores de Integração de Imigrantes: RELATÓRIO ESTATÍSTICO ANUAL 2022. In: Imigrações em números, Relatório anual 7. Alto Comissariado para as Migrações, 2022. Available at: https://www.om.acm.gov.pt/publicacoes-om/colecao-imigracao-em-numeros/relatorios-anuais. Last visited 27 AUG 2023

Ortiz-Ospina, Esteban and Beltekian, Diana (2018). *Why do women live longer than men?* Published online at OurWorldInData.org. Available at:https://ourworldindata.org/why-do-women-live-longer-than-men. Last visited: 20 JUL 2023

Oso, Laura; Kaczmarczyk, Pawel; Salamońska, Justyna. *Labour Migration*. In: Introduction to Migration Studies. Springer, 2022. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-92377-8_7. Last visited: 10 AUG 2023

Padilla, Beatriz. *Estado del Arte de las investigaciones sobre los brasileños y brasileñas en Portugal.* In: Nuevas migraciones latinoamericanas a Europa: Balances y Desafíos. Louvain, FLACSO, OBREAL, UCL e UB, 2007. Available at: https://www.flacsoandes.edu.ec/web/imagesFTP/6513.NUEVAS_20MIGRACIONES_1_.pdf#page=70. Last visited: 05 SEP 2023

Pereira, Sonia., Snel, Erik, and 't Hart, Margrietha. *Economic Progress, Stagnation, or Decline? Occupational Mobility of Non-Eu Immigrants in Europe* in: Immigration and Work: Volume 27, Emerald Group Publishing Limited, 2015. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1108/S0277-283320150000027013. Last visited: 09 AUG 2023

Pereira, Sonia; Esteves, Alina. Os efeitos da crise econômica na situação laboral dos imigrantes: o caso dos brasileiros em Portugal. In: Migrantes no mercado de trabalho: precarização e discriminação. REMHU, 2017. https://doi.org/10.1590/1980-85852503880004908. Last visited: 08 SEP 2023

Pires, Rui Pena, et al. *Emigração Portuguesa 2022: Relatório Estatístico.* Lisboa, Observatório da Emigração e Rede Migra, CIES-IUL, ISCTE-IUL, 2022. DOI: 10.15847/CIESOEMRE092022. Last visited: 14 AUG 2023

Pires, Rui Pena, et al. *Trauma and the Portuguese Repatriation: A Confined Collective Identity.* In: The Cultural Trauma of Decolonization Colonial Returnees in the National Imagination. 1st ed. 2020., Springer International Publishing, 2020, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-27025-4_7. Last visited: 22 SEP 2023.

Pita Barros, Pedro Luis de Oliveira Martins. *Demographic changes and intergenerational transfers in Portugal: state of knowledge.* Published by the International Centre of Aging on 07 June 2019. Available at: https://cenie.eu/en/blogs/transhist/demographic-changes-and-intergenerational-transfers-portugal-state-knowledge. Last visited: 02 AUG 2023

Population Pyramids. Pyramids: Portugal 2021. Available at: https://www.populationpyramid.net/portugal/2021/. Last accessed: 30 AUG 2023

Pordata - Portal de Dados Portugal Contemporâneo. *Table: Permanent emigrants: total and by highest level of education completed (%).* Available at: https://www.pordata.pt/en/db/portugal/search+environment/table. Last visited: 14 AUG 2023

Portal Autárquico. Direção Geral das Autarquias Locais. Municípios. Available at: https://portalautarquico.dgal.gov.pt/pt-PT/subsetor-da-administracao-local/entidades-autarquicas/municipios/. Last visited: 25 JUL 2023

Portugal. Assembleia da República. Código do trabalho. Lei n. 07/2009, passed at 12 FEB 2009. Available at https://www.pgdlisboa.pt/leis/lei_mostra_articulado.php?nid=1047&tabela=leis&so_

miolo=. Last visited: 21 JUL 2023.

Portugal. Assembleia da República. Decree Law n° 154/2003, passed on 15 JUL 2003. Available at: https://diariodarepublica.pt/dr/detalhe/decreto-lei/154-2003-671576. Last visited: 07 SEP 2023.

Portugal. Assembleia da República. Decree Law n° 36/2014, passed on 10 MAR of 2014. Available at: https://diariodarepublica.pt/dr/detalhe/decreto-lei/36-2014-572431. Last visited: 26 AUG 2023

Portugal. Assembleia da República. Decree n° 40/2003, passed on 19 SEP 2003. Available at: https://diariodarepublica.pt/dr/detalhe/decreto/40-2003-496675. Last visited: 07 SEP 2023.

Portugal. Assembleia da República. Decreto-Lei n.º 58/2016, passed at 29 August of 2016. Available at: https://pgdlisboa.pt/leis/lei_mostra_articulado.php?nid=2616&tabela=leis. Last visited: 24 JUL 2023

Portugal. Assembleia da República. Law Decree No. 30-A/2015, passed on 27 FEB 2015. Available at: https://diariodarepublica.pt/dr/detalhe/decreto-lei/30-a-2015-66619927. Last visited: 19 AUG 2023.

Portugal. Assembleia da República. Law n° 02/2006, passed on 17 APR of 2006. Available at: https://www.pgdlisboa.pt/leis/lei_mostra_articulado.php?nid=735&tabela=leis. Last visited: 18 AUG 2023.

Portugal. Assembleia da República. Law n° 23/2007, passed on 04 JULY of 2007. Available at: https://www.pgdlisboa.pt/leis/lei_mostra_articulado.php?ficha=1&artigo_id=&nid=920&pagina=1&tabela=leis&nversao=&so_miolo=. Last visited: 18 AUG 2023

Portugal. Assembleia da República. Law Project 109/XV/1, proposed on 02 JUN 2022. Available at: https://www.parlamento.pt/ActividadeParlamentar/Paginas/DetalheIniciativa.aspx?BID=121542. Last visited: 18 AUG 2023

Portugal. Assembleia da República. Lei n° 11/82, passed at 02 JUNE of 1982. Available at: https://terrasportuguesas.parlamento.pt/Legislacao/Lei11_82.pdf. Last visited: 25 JUL 2023

Portugal. Assembleia da República. Organic Law No. 9/2015, passed on 29 JUL 2015. Available at: https://diariodarepublica.pt/dr/detalhe/lei-organica/9-2015-69889521. Last visited: 18 AUG 2023.

Portugal. Assembleia da República. Portaria n. 97/2023, passed on 28 FEB 2023. Available at: https://diariodarepublica.pt/dr/detalhe/portaria/97-2023-207925554. Last visited: 18 AUG 2023

Portugal. Assembleia da República. Regulatory Decree No. 9/2018, passed on 11 SET 2018. Available at: https://diariodarepublica.pt/dr/detalhe/decreto-regulamentar/9-2018-116382281?_ts=1692356679991. Last visited: 18 AUG 2023.

Portugal. Segurança Social. Available at: https://www.seg-social.pt/inicio. Last visited: 21 JUL 2023

Portugal. Seguridade Social. *Creche Feliz - Rede de Creches Gratuitas.* Available at: https://www.seg-social.pt/rede-de-creches-gratuitas. Last visited: 04 AUG 2023

Portuguese Government. News - Alterações à Lei dos Estrangeiros simplifica procedimentos. Published on: 30 SET 2022 at 10h56. Available at: https://www.portugal.gov.pt/pt/gc23/comunicacao/noticia?i=alteracoes-a-lei-dos-estrangeiros-simplifica-procedimentos#:~:text=A%20regulamenta%C3%A7%C3%A3o%20das%20altera%C3%A7%C3%B5es%20%C3%A0,30%20de%20outubro%20de%202022. Last visited: 18 AUG 2023

Portuguese Government. News - Assembleia da República aprova alterações à «Lei dos

Estrangeiros». Published on: 2022-07-21 at 16h30. Available at: https://www.portugal.gov.pt/pt/gc23/comunicacao/noticia?i=assembleia-da-republica-aprova-alteracoes-a-lei-dos-estrangeiros. Last visited: 18 AUG 2023

Portuguese Government. Programa Regressar - É hora de voltar para casa. Available at: https://www.programaregressar.gov.pt/en/. Last visited: 15 AUG 2023

Reis, Ricardo. "The Portuguese Slump and Crash and the Euro Crisis." Brookings Papers on Economic Activity, 2013, pp. 143–93. JSTOR, http://www.jstor.org/stable/23594865. Accessed 6 Aug. 2023.

República Portuguesa. 19 de abril - início da resposta aos Censos 2021. Available at: https://www.portugal.gov.pt/pt/gc22/comunicacao/noticia?i=19-de-abril-inicio-da-resposta-aos-censos-2021#:~:text=19%20de%20abril%20%2D%20in%C3%ADcio%20da,2021%20%2D%20XXII%20Governo%20%2D%20Rep%C3%BAblica%20Portuguesa. Last visited: 27 JUL 2023

República Portuguesa. Diversified Regions - The Regions of Portugal. Available at: https://portugalglobal.pt/EN/InvestInPortugal/RegionsofPortugal/Pages/TheRegionsofPortugal.aspx#:~:text=Portugal%20is%20divided%20into%207,25%20NUTS%20III%2C%20becoming%20%E2%80%9Cadministrative. Last visited: 25 JUL 2023

Ritchie, Hannah; Roser, Max (2019) - Gender Ratio. Published online at OurWorldInData.org. Retrieved from: https://ourworldindata.org/gender-ratio [Online Resource]. Last visited: 20 JUL 2023

Rodrigues, Teresa; Ribeiro, Mário. Mobilidade facilitada: a nova imigração brasileira em Portugal. In: XIV Encuentro de Latinoamericanistas Españoles: congreso internacional. Universidade de Santiago de Compostela, Centro Interdisciplinario de Estudios Americanistas Gumersindo Busto; Consejo Español de Estudios Iberoamericanos, 2010. Available at: https://shs.hal.science/halshs-00530687/. Last visited: 05 SEP 2023

Rowland, Donald T. *Demographic Methods and Concepts*. Oxford University Press, 2003.

RTP NOtícias. News: "Acordo Lula" permitiu legalizar perto de 14 mil brasileiros. Available at: https://www.rtp.pt/noticias/pais/acordo-lula-permitiu-legalizar-perto-de-14-mil-brasileiros_n18557. Last accessed: 07 SEP 2023

Samers, Michael; Collyer, Michale. *Migration.* 2. ed. Routledge, 2017.

Santos, Aline Lima. *Sistema Migratório Brasil-Portugal: Breve Histórico e Especificidades atuais.* (2016). Available at: http://observatoriogeograficoamericalatina.org.mx/egal15/Geografiasocioeconomica/Geografiacultural/32.pdf. Last visited: 03 SEP 2023

Sardinha, João. *Immigrant Associations, Integration and Identity : Angolan, Brazilian and Eastern European Communities in Portugal*. Amsterdam University Press, 2009. DOI: 10.5117/9789089640369. Last visited: 08 SEP 2023

SEF - Serviços de Estrangeiros e Fronteiras. APPLYING FOR RESIDENCE IN PORTUGAL - Article 90-A – Residence Permit for Investment Purposes. Available at: https://imigrante.sef.pt/en/solicitar/residir/art90-a/ Last visited: 17 AUG 2023

SEF - Serviços de Estrangeiros e Fronteiras. Legislation - Foreigners. Regime jurídico de entrada, permanência, saída e afastamento de cidadãos estrangeiros do território nacional. Available at: https://www.sef.pt/pt/pages/conteudo-detalhe.aspx?nID=84. Last visited: 18 AUG 2023

SEF - Serviços de Estrangeiros e Fronteiras. News - Novo modelo de interação com os cidadãos estrangeiros. Published on 17/02/2023. Available at: https://www.sef.pt/pt/pages/noticia-sef.aspx?nID=1014. Last visited: 17 AUG 2023

SEF - Serviços de Estrangeiros e Fronteiras. Page - ART.º 91º, 91.º-A E N.º 2 DO 97.º – COMUNICAÇÃO DO EXERCÍCIO DE ATIVIDADE PROFISSIONAL – ESTUDANTES DO ENSINO SUPERIOR. Available at:

https://imigrante.sef.pt/solicitar/estudar/com-exercicio-atividade-profissional-estudantes-ensino-superior/. Last visited: 08 SEP 2023

SEF - Serviços de Estrangeiros e Fronteiras. Page - Nacionais U.E / E.E.E / ANDORRA /SUÍÇA. Available at: https://www.sef.pt/pt/pages/conteudo-detalhe.aspx?nID=63. Last visited: 28 AUG 2023

SEFSTAT - Portal de Estatística. Relatórios Estatísticos Anuais. Available at: https://sefstat.sef.pt/forms/relatorios.aspx. Last visited: 29 AUG 2023

SEFSTAT - Portal de Estatística. Table: Estrangeiros em Faro. Available at: https://sefstat.sef.pt/forms/distritos.aspx. Last visited: 21 AUG 2023

SEFSTAT. Page: População Estrangeira Residente em Portugal. Available at: https://sefstat.sef.pt/forms/distritos.aspx. Last visited: 01 SEP 2023

Sobotka, Tomas; Skirbekk, Vegard and Philipv, Dimiter. *Economic Recession and Fertility in the Developed World.* In: Population and Development Review, JUNE 2011, Vol. 37, No. 2 (JUNE 2011), pp. 267-306. Population Council, 2011. Available at: https://www.jstor.org/stable/23043283. Last visited: 31 AUG 2023

STATEC - The Statistics Portal. *Census - Nationalities*. Available at:https://statistiques.public.lu/en/recensement/nationalites.html. Last visited: 13 AUG 2023

Swiss Federal Statistical Office. *Dataset: Demographic balance of the permanent resident population by citizenship, 2010-2021.* Available at: https://www.bfs.admin.ch/bfs/en/home/statistics/catalogues-databases/tables.assetdetail.23064741.html. Last visited: 15 AGO 2023

Swiss Federal Statistical Office. *Dataset: Foreign permanent resident population by citizenship, 1980-2021.* Available at: https://www.bfs.admin.ch/bfs/en/home/statistics/catalogues-databases/tables.assetdetail.23064686.html. Last visited: 15 AUG 2023

Swiss Federal Statistical Office. *Dataset: Permanent resident population by country of birth, category of citizenship and sex, 2010-2021*. Available at: https://www.bfs.admin.ch/bfs/en/home/statistics/catalogues-databases/tables.assetdetail.23064831.html. Last visited: 14 AUG 2023

Teitelbaum, Michael S. La paura del declino demografico. Il mulino, 1987

The World Bank. DataBank - Metadata Glossary - SP.DYN.CBRT.IN. Available at: https://databank.worldbank.org/metadataglossary/gender-statistics/series/SP.DYN.CBRT.IN#:~:text=Crude%20birth%20rate%20indicates%20the%20number%20of%20live%20births%20occurring,in%20the%20absence%20of%20migration. Last visited: 27 JUL 2023

The World Bank. DataBank - World Development Indicators. Available at: https://databank.worldbank.org/reports.aspx?source=2&series=SP.URB.TOTL&country=EUU. Last visited: 25 JUL 2023

The World Bank. Urban population - European Union, Portugal. Available at: https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.URB.TOTL?end=2018&locations=EU-PT&name_desc=false&start=2017. Last visited: 25 JUL 2023

Trade Map - Trade Statistics for international business development. Product: 45 Cork and articles of cork. Available at: https://www.trademap.org/Country_SelProduct_TS.aspx?nvpm=1%7c%7c%7c%7c%7c45%7c%7c%7c2%7c1%7c1%7c2%7c2%7c1%7c2%7c4%7c1%7c1. Last visited: 04 AUG 2023

UNHCR. Older persons. Available at: https://emergency.unhcr.org/protection/persons-risk/older-persons#:~:text=An%20older%20person%20is%20defined,or%20age%2Drelated%20health%20conditions. Last visited: 24 JUL 2023

United Nationals. Department of Economic and Social Affairs - Population Division. Available at: https://population.un.org/wpp/Download/Standard/Population/. Last

visited: 26 SEP 2023

United Nations - Population Division. International Migrant Stock 2020: Destination. Available at: https://www.un.org/development/desa/pd/content/international-migrant-stock. Last visited: 14 AUG 2023

United Nations - Population Division. Data: International Migrant Stock 2020: Destination and origin. Available at: https://www.un.org/development/desa/pd/content/international-migrant-stock. Last visited: 14 AUG 2023

United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division. International Migrant Stock 2020. Available at: https://www.un.org/development/desa/pd/content/international-migrant-stock. Last visited: 14 AUG 2023

United Nationals. Page: Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Available at: https://www.un.org/en/about-us/universal-declaration-of-human-rights. Last visited: 26 SEP 2023

United Nations. Who Are the Youth?. Available at: https://www.un.org/en/global-issues/youth#:~:text=There%20is%20no%20universally%20agreed,of%2015%20and%2024%20years. Last visited: 24 JUL 2023

UNWTO - World Tourism Organization. *TOURISM DATA AND MATCHING PRIORITIES - PORTUGAL.* Available at: https://www.unwto.org/europe/portugal. Last visited: 04 AUG 2023

Vallejo, Jody Agius. *Immigration and Work [risorsa Elettronica]*. Emerald, 2015. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1108/S0277-283320150000027003. Last visited: 07 AUG 2023

Whitehouse, Edward. "Life-Expectancy Risk and Pensions Who Bears the Burden?" Life-Expectancy Risk and Pensions Who Bears the Burden?, OECD Publishing, 2007. Available at: https://www.oecd-ilibrary.org/social-issues-migration-health/life-expectancy-risk-and-pensions_060025254440. Last accessed: 01 AUG 2023

World Health Organization. *Proportion of persons above retirement age receiving a pension (SDG 1.3.1).* Available at: https://platform.who.int/data/maternal-newborn-child-adolescent-ageing/indicator-explorer-new/mca/proportion-of-persons-above-retirement-age-receiving-a-pension-(sdg-1.3.1). Last accessed: 31 JUL 2023

World Health Organization. *Sex ratio at birth (male births per female births)*. Available at: https://platform.who.int/data/maternal-newborn-child-adolescent-ageing/indicator-explorer-new/MCA/sex-ratio-at-birth-(male-births-per-female-births). Last visited: 17 JUL 2023